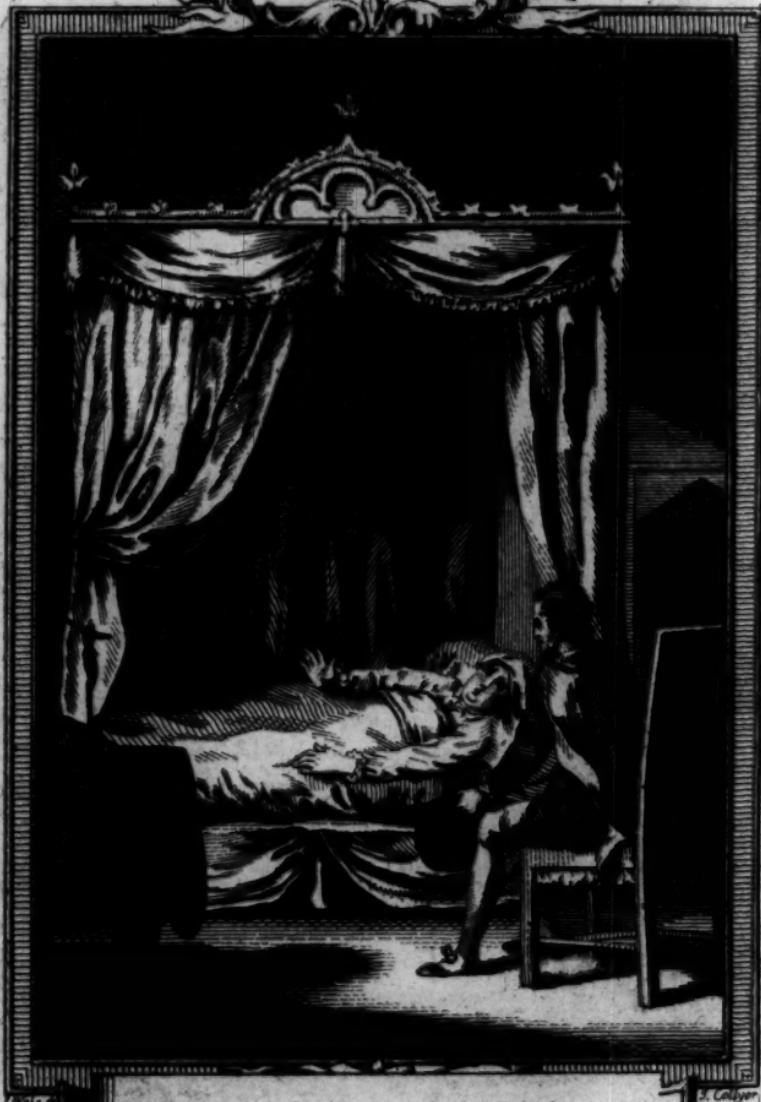


*The Death of Cardinal Wolsey.*

*Published as the Act directs, 1 July 1774 by J. Johnson, S. Pauls Ch. Yard.*



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
FROM THE  
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,  
TO THE  
DISSOLUTION of the Present PARLIAMENT.  
ADORNED WITH PLATES.  
IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

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By JOSEPH COLLYER,  
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,  
in Two Volumes Folio.

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VOL. VI.

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LONDON:

Printed for J. PAYNE; and Sold by J. JOHNSON,  
at No. 72, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and W.  
GOLDSMITH, No. 24, Pater-noster Row.

MDCCLXXIV.



*EDWARD V.*



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.

EDWARD V.

THE duke of Gloucester now no longer made a secret of his intentions to usurp the crown. The licentious life of Edward, who was neither restrained in his pleasures by honour or prudence, had afforded him an opportunity of declaring his marriage with the queen invalid, and all his posterity illegitimate, by his having been married to the lady Eleanor Butler, the earl of Shrewsbury's daughter, long before his marriage with Elizabeth Gray, by Stillington, bishop of Bath, who afterwards divulged the secret,

secret. It was also maintained, that the duke of Clarence's attainder had rendered his children incapable of succeeding to the throne; and these two families being thus set aside, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the house of York. It is pretended, that the protector made use of another plea, and maintained, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence were illegitimate, the dutchess of York having had different lovers, who were the fathers of those children; but this appears highly improbable, since, by bastardizing his elder brothers, he would have rendered his own legitimacy justly suspected; and there is not the least degree of probability, that he would throw so foul an imputation on his own mother, a princess of irreproachable virtue, who was then living, and with whom he lived in the most cordial intimacy; an improbability which is greatly strengthened by his holding his first council at her house, and by a very affectionate letter to her, preserved among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. Equally improbable is the story of Dr. Shaw, being appointed to preach at St. Paul's, and chusing for his text, *Bastard slips shall not thrive*, in which he is said to have enlarged on all the topics that could discredit the birth of Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, with their children; and the idle expedient of the duke of Buckingham's haranging the citizens of London on the same subject.

Mr.

Mr. Walpole observes, that Richard's election appears to have been voluntary ; and that the nobility, from their hatred and jealousy of the queen's family, and many of them from the conviction of Edward's precontract, met his claim at least half way : the coronation being conducted with the greatest regularity ; and the extraordinary concourse of the nobility with which it was graced, having not at all the air of an unwelcome revolution, accomplished merely by violence.

## C H A P. VII.

## R I C H A R D III.

*Edward V. probably walked at Richard's Coronation. The King's Person described. The Murder of Edward V. and the Duke of York, unjustly ascribed to him. The Duke of Buckingham endeavours to raise a Rebellion; but is taken and executed. The Earl of Richmond invades England. The Battle of Bosworth, in which Richard is slain. His Death and Character.*

**R**ICHARD was proclaimed king on the twenty-second of June 1483, and crowned on the 6th of July. It is even probable, that Edward V. walked at his coronation, since in the coronation roll itself is an entry of the robes prepared for him on this occasion, which were extremely splendid, and appear to be the trappings of a cavalcade, and not for the use of a prisoner: and this is the more probable, as this prince was at first treated by Richard with great indulgence and respect.

King Richard is represented as a little crooked, withered, hump-backed monster, who remained two years in his mother's womb, and at last was born with teeth, and hair on his shoulders, to intimate how careful Providence

was



*RICHARD III.*



## R I C H A R D III.

7

was when it formed a tyrant, to give due warning of what was to be expected. " Yet these portents, says Mr. Walpole, were far from prognosticating a tyrant ; for this plain reason, that all other tyrants have been born without these prognostics. Does it require, he adds, more time to ripen a scotus, that is to prove a destroyer, than it takes to form an Aristides ? Are there outward and visible signs of a bloody nature ? Who was handsomer than Alexander, Augustus, or Lewis XIV ? And yet whoever commanded the spilling of more human blood ?" The truth seems to be, that Richard, who was slender and not tall, had one shoulder a little higher than the other : a defect easily swelled by the magnifying glasses of party, the distance of time, and the amplification of tradition, into shocking deformity. The old countess of Desmond, who had danced with Richard, declared, that he was the handsomest man in the room, except his brother Edward ; and John Rous, the antiquary of Warwickshire, who saw Richard at Warwick, describing his person, mentions no other defect than the inequality of his shoulders ; and, indeed, the vigour and activity with which he exerted himself in battle, are an evident proof of his being possessed of that bodily strength, which is never enjoyed by persons much deformed.

One of the first acts of Richard's reign, is said to have been the murder of his two nephews : Sir Thomas More says, that this commission was entrusted to Tyrrel, who being

## THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ing admitted into the Tower, caused them to be smothered in their beds; and yet both Sir Thomas and lord Bacon confess, that many doubted, whether the two princes were murdered in Richard's days or not. On which Mr. Walpole asks, " If they were not destroyed in Richard's days, in whose days were they murdered? Who will tell me, that Henry the Seventh did not find the eldest, at least, prisoner in the Tower? And if he did, that gentleman adds, What was there in Henry's nature or character to prevent our surmises going farther? If they were put to death at the time fixed by More, Richard must have acted from the wantonness of cruelty: for his throne then appeared to be firmly established, and the whole kingdom quiet." The above gentleman has brought to light many incidents which invalidate this accusation\*, particularly, that it appears by the roll of parliament, which bastardized Edward the Fifth, that he was then alive, though it was seven months after the time assigned by More for his murder; and it seems more than probable, that it was one of these princes who afterwards endeavoured to obtain the crown, and was called Perkin Warbeck. The two skeletons found in the Tower, in the reign of king Charles II. with no marks to ascertain the time of their interment, can surely be no proof of the contrary. Richard began his reign with bestowing rewards on those who had assisted him in obtain-

\* See his *Historic Doubts*, from p. 51 to 74.

ing the crown, and in gaining, by favours, those who appeared best able to support his future government. He created Thomas Lord Howard, duke of Norfolk ; Sir Thomas Howard, his son, earl of Surry ; lord Lovel, a viscount ; and setting lord Stanley at liberty, made him steward of his household. This nobleman had rendered himself obnoxious to Richard by his opposing his views, and his marrying the countess dowager of Richmond, the heiress of the house of Somerset ; but being sensible of the necessity of submitting to the present government, he pretended such zeal for Richard's service, that he was received into favour, and entrusted with the most important commands. But the person most entitled to favour under the new government was the duke of Buckingham, who, during Edward the Fourth's life, could never bring himself to stoop to the queen. He was descended from a daughter of Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard II. and had claims for dignities, as well as estates, of a very extensive nature. The duke of Gloucester, and Henry, earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. had married the two co-heiresses of Bohun, earl of Hereford, whose immense property became thus divided ; one share of it being inherited by the family of Buckingham, and the other united to the crown. The duke of Buckingham claimed the restitution of that part of the Hereford estate which had escheated to the crown, as well as of the office of constable, which had long been enjoyed by his ancestors

ancestors of that family. With these demands Richard readily complied, and thought himself secure of preserving the fidelity of a man, whose interest seemed so closely connected with that of the present government; but their friendship was not of long continuance. The first quarrel is ascribed by historians, to the king's refusal of making restitution of the Hereford estate; but it is certain from records, that the grant was passed for that purpose, and that all Buckingham's demands in this particular were satisfied. Yet it is also certain, that soon after Richard's accession, he began to form a conspiracy against the government. His family had been devoted to the interest of the house of Lancaster; and his mother, who was the daughter of Edmund, duke of Somerset, being allied to that house, he was induced to espouse the cause of the Lancastrians. These sentiments were encouraged by Morton, bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, whom the king had imprisoned, and afterwards committed to the duke of Buckingham's custody; and by his exhortations, the duke cast his eye on the young earl of Richmond.

For some time that earl had been detained by the duke of Britanny in an honourable kind of custody; for being thought to have some pretensions to the crown, he had been an object of jealousy, both in the late and in the present reign. Catharine of France, the widow of Henry V. having married Sir Owen Tudor, bore him a son, named Edmund, who married the daughter of John the First, duke of

of Somerset, the grand-son of John of Gaunt, by a spurious branch. By this marriage Henry, earl of Richmond, was born. His mother, on being a widow, had espoused Sir Henry Stafford, Buckingham's uncle; and after his death, had married lord Stanley; but having no children by either of these husbands, her son Henry would, at her death, become the sole heir of all her fortunes.

Edward the Fourth observing, that the Lancastrians looked upon the earl of Richmond as heir to the crown, applied to Francis II. duke of Britanny, to deliver up this fugitive, who had fled to him after the battle of Tewkesbury, to prevent his occasioning future disturbances in England: but the duke would only consent, that the young nobleman should, for Edward's security, be detained in custody; on which the king allowed him an annual pension for the subsistence of his prisoner, and keeping him in safety. Towards the end of Edward's reign, when the kingdom was threatened with a war both with France and Scotland, Edward pretending, that he was desirous of gaining Richmond, and of uniting him to his own family, by marrying him to his daughter Elizabeth, desired, that he might be sent over to England for that purpose., Henry was therefore delivered into the hands of the English agents: but when he was ready to embark, the duke being told, that Edward had formed ill designs against the youth, he recalled his orders.

This

This appearance of jealousy in the family on the throne of England, seemed to give some authority to the pretensions of Henry, and turned the attention of the Lancastrians towards him ; but Buckingham and the bishop of Ely were fully sensible, that many obstacles would lie in his way to the throne ; and that though the nation had been divided between Henry VI. and the duke of York, while present possessions and hereditary right stood in opposition to each other, yet that these titles had no sooner been united in Edward IV. than the bulk of the people joining with the reigning family, the Lancastrians decreased both in numbers and authority. Morton, therefore, suggested to the duke, that as a means of uniting the opposite factions, the earl of Richmond should contract a marriage with the princess Elizabeth, king Edward's daughter ; for they were sensible that the people, tired of the bloody wars which had desolated the nation, were extremely desirous of repose, and would be delighted with an union of the two contending houses, in a prince to be placed on the throne : Reginald Bray, the countess of Richmond's steward, by Morton's orders, opened the plan to that lady, and it appearing to be of great advantage to her son, she immediately consented to it. At the same time Dr. Lewis, a Welch physician, who had access to the queen dowager in her sanctuary, carried the proposals to her, and found that her indignation, on account of her confinement, overcame all her prejudices against the house of

of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of the marriage. Having secretly borrowed a sum of money in the city, she sent it to the earl of Richmond ; she insisted on his swearing to celebrate the marriage as soon as he arrived in England ; advised him to raise as many forces as possible, and promised to join him with all her friends on his first appearance.

No sooner was this plan laid, than it was secretly communicated to their principal friends of both parties, in all the counties of England ; but it was impossible, that the conspiracy could be conducted with such secrecy, as to escape the vigilant eye of Richard, who was soon informed, that his enemies, with the duke of Buckingham at their head, were forming some design against his authority. He instantly levied some troops in the north, put himself in a posture of defence, and summoned the duke to appear at court, in terms expressive of a renewal of their former friendship ; but that nobleman, instead of complying, took arms in Wales, and excited his accomplices to form a general insurrection in different parts of England. But there happening to fall such heavy and incessant rains, as rendered the Severn and other rivers impassable, Buckingham was prevented from marching into England, to join his associates. On which the Welch, partly moved by superstition at this event, and partly distressed by famine in their camp, deserted ; Buckingham, now putting on a disguise, concealed himself in the house of Banister, an old servant of his

family; but being discovered in his retreat, was brought to the king at Salisbury; and, according to the summary method practised in that age, was instantly tried, condemned, and executed. The other conspirators, who had taken arms at Exeter, Salisbury, Newbury, and Maidstone, hearing of this, immediately dispersed.

The bishop of Ely, the marquis of Dorset, and many others, escaped beyond sea; but several fell into the hands of Richard, a few of whom suffered as examples. In the mean time the earl of Richmond had set sail from St. Malo's with five thousand men on board, raised abroad; but his fleet being driven back by a storm, he did not appear on the coast of England till after his friends were dispersed, which obliged him to return to Britanny.

Richard being thus every where triumphant, summoned a parliament, who acknowledged his authority and right to the crown; the duties of tonnage and poundage were granted him for life; and the king, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, passed some popular laws, and one in particular against the late practice of extorting money under the pretence of benevolence; at the same time Edward, the king's only son, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales.

Richard now paid his court to the queen dowager with such success, that this princess left her sanctuary, and put herself and daughters into his hands. As he knew that the earl of

of Richmond could only be formidable from his projected marriage with the princess Elizabeth, he resolved to endeavour to supplant him. He had before married Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, the widow of Edward, prince of Wales, who had been murdered by his brother's retinue. She had borne him only one son, who died about this time; and being in a declining state of health, soon followed him\*. He therefore proposed to marry this princess, and to obtain for that purpose a dispensation from the pope. The queen dowager now readily entered into his views, from the hopes of recovering, in some degree, her lost authority; and instantly wrote to all her partizans, and among the rest, to the marquis of Dorset, her son, desiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; application was also made to the court of Rome for a dispensation.

In the mean time all the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Britanny, and solicited him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, in order to prevent Richard's marriage with the princess Elizabeth, which would prove fatal to all his hopes. The earl, sensible of the urgent necessity of this attempt; but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, the duke of Britanny's secretary, who had entered into a negociation with Richard for betraying

\* He has been charged with having poisoned her, though no proof was ever pretended to be given of it.

him, escaped into France, where Charles VIII. who, after the death of his father Lewis, had succeeded to the throne, afforded him countenance and protection ; and being, as usual, desirous of raising disturbances in England, secretly encouraged the earl in raising troops for his enterprize against that kingdom. The earl of Oxford, who, on his being suspected by Richard, had been confined, now made his escape, and joining Henry, animated him to make the attempt with all possible expedition.

At length the earl of Richmond sailed from Harfleur, in Normandy, with a small body of forces, consisting of about two thousand men ; and after being six days in his passage, landed without opposition at Milford-haven, in Wales, on the seventh of August 1485. He had steered thither in hopes that the Welch, who considered him as their countryman, and had been already prepossessed by the duke of Buckingham, in favour of his cause, would join his standard, and enable him to make head against Richard. The king, not knowing where he would land, had fixed his post at Nottingham, in the center of the kingdom ; and having granted commissions, empowering persons in the different counties to oppose the enemy, proposed, on the first alarm, to march to the place exposed to danger. Sir Walter Herbert, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, were entrusted with this authority in Wales ; but the former made but a feeble opposition to the earl of Richmond, and the latter immediately deserted to him. Henry, on his advancing towards Shrewsbury,

bury, was every day reinforced by some of his partizans. He was joined by Sir Gilbert Talbot, with all the vassals of the family of Shrewsbury; by Sir Walter Hungerford and Sir Thomas Bourchier, with their friends; and the men of distinction, who appeared in his camp, already gave a favourable aspect to his cause.

Richard's danger proceeded less from the zeal of his open enemies, than from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Those, of whom he entertained the greatest suspicion, were lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, who were closely connected with the family of Richmond, though they professed an extraordinary attachment to the king's person. This was well known to Richard, who, on his empowering lord Stanley to levy forces, thought it prudent to retain the lord Strange, his eldest son, as a pledge for his fidelity, which obliged that nobleman to act with great caution and reserve. He raised a powerful body of his friends and retainers, in Lancashire and Cheshire; and though Henry was secretly assured of his friendly intentions, the two armies were at a loss what to infer from his behaviour.

The two armies at length approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester; Richard with above twelve thousand men, and Henry at the head of six thousand. The king gave the command of the van-guard to the duke of Norfolk, and led the main body himself, with his crown on his head, either to distinguish himself, or to remind his troops, that they

were fighting for their king. The earl of Richmond likewise drew up his forces in two lines ; the first commanded by the earl of Oxford, and the second by himself. While the two armies were preparing for battle, the lord Stanley, who had continued till then at Athelston, posted himself with his troops opposite the space between the two armies ; and his brother took his station on the other side fronting him. Richard had too much sagacity not to discover their intentions from these movements, but kept the secret from his own men, for fear of discouraging them ; and immediately sent orders to the lord Stanley to come and join his army ; but he only answered, that he would come when it was convenient. The king did not take immediate revenge on Stanley's son, as some of his officers advised him ; because he flattered himself, that his being possessed of so valuable a pledge, would induce the father to prolong his ambiguous conduct. But hasted to decide, by force of arms, the quarrel with his competitor, as being certain that a victory would enable him to take revenge on all his open and concealed enemies.

The battle began with a shower of arrows discharged from both sides ; after which the royal army moved forward to engage in a close fight. The lord Stanley, who, till then, had been only a spectator, perceiving the duke of Norfolk widen his line to the left, in order to surround the troops of the earl of Richmond, did not give him time to execute his design ; but suddenly posted himself on the right of the

earl's

earl's line, to receive the front of the king's first line. This motion causing the duke of Norfolk to halt, in order to reclose his line, which was too much extended to the left, the fight ceased for some moments. But soon after, both sides being more upon an equality, by the lord Stanley's joining the earl, the battle was continued on both sides with great ardour.

In the mean time Richard being impatient to know what was passing in the first line, galloped towards the place where they were engaged. At the same instant the earl of Richmond, quitting his post in the second line, advanced as far as the foremost ranks of the first, in order to encourage his troops by his presence. Richard perceiving him, rode up to him with great eagerness, in hopes, that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer, and dismounted Sir John Cheyney. He was now within reach of Richmond himself, who did not decline the combat, though he shewed no great eagerness to engage him; for he contented himself with standing in a posture of defence, and willingly suffered his people to come between them; for, at the very instant, when Richard was endeavouring to decide in person the important quarrel between him and Richmond, Sir William Stanley observing, that the left of the earl of Richmond's first line began to give ground, openly declared against the king, by falling upon his troops

troops in the flank, and drove the right wing of the royalists upon the center, which was so disordered by the shock, that it began to fly with the utmost precipitation. Richard now perceiving the day was lost, and not being able to think of flying, or of falling into the earl of Richmond's hands, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where he fought with the most desperate courage, till being overpowered by numbers, he fell dead in the midst of those he had slain.

In this battle there fell about four thousand of the vanquished, among whom was the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrers of Charltey, Sir Robert Brackenburg, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Richard Ratcliffe ; while the loss on the side of the victors was inconsiderable. Sir William Catesby was taken prisoner, and with some others was beheaded at Leicester. The body of Richard was found in the field, amongst the dead, besmeared with blood ; and being thrown carelessly across a horse, was carried, amidst the shouts of his enemies, to Leicester, where he was interred in the church of the Grey-Friars. Thus died Richard, after a reign of two years and two months.

By this decisive battle, which was fought on the 22d of August 1485, an end was put to the reigns of the Plantagenets, who, including that of Henry II. the first of that race, had possessed the crown of England during the space of three hundred and thirty years ; and the war was concluded between the houses of

York

York and Lancaster, in which above a hundred thousand Englishmen had perished, with a great number of princes of the two houses.

If we strip Richard of the obloquy thrown upon him by the partizans of Henry VII. in order to make that prince's title appear in a fairer light, his character will greatly exceed that of the prince who followed him. After his accession to the throne, his administration in general was conducted by the rules of justice: he enacted salutary laws, and established such wise regulations, that had his reign been continued, he would, to all appearance, have proved an excellent king. He was possessed of great solidity of judgment, extraordinary penetration, a natural fund of eloquence, and a most intrepid courage; but has been unjustly represented by the historians of Henry the Seventh's reign as a monster,

THE

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

From the Union of the Houses of  
York and Lancaster, to the Reign  
of James I.

CHAP. I.

HENRY VII.

*His Accession. His Prejudices against the House of York. His Coronation. The Sweating Sickness. Yeomen of the Guard first appointed. The King's Marriage. An Insurrection suppressed. Lambert Simnel pretending, that he is*

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is the Earl of Warwick, is crowned King in Dublin, but afterwards defeated. The State of Europe. The Embassy of the French to England. An Insurrection suppressed. The King sends a few Forces into Britanny. That Dutchy annexed to France. The King invades that Kingdom, and sells a Peace. An Account of the Duke of York. Stanley's Trial and Execution. An Insurrection in the West. The Battle of Black-heath. A Truce with Scotland. The Duke of York taken Prisoner and executed. The Earl of Warwick executed. Prince Arthur married to Catharine of Arragon. His Death. The Princess Margaret married to the King of Scotland. The People greatly oppressed. A Parliament. The King of Castile arrives in England. The Intrigues of the Earl of Suffolk. Henry's Death and Character.

ATTER the victory gained at Bosworth by the earl of Richmond, the soldiers, prompted by the joy of their success, saluted him with acclamations of " Long live king Henry the Seventh :" and to bestow some appearance of formality on this kind of military election, Sir William Stanley brought the crown of ornament, which Richard had worn in the battle, and which had been found in the field, and placed it on the conqueror's head ; and Henry, after a moment's hesitation, accepted of it. Being now come to the crisis of his fortune, he was obliged suddenly to come to a determination, and therefore chose that part

part suggested to him by his ambition, and to which his present success invited him. He instantly resolved to put himself in possession of regal authority, to shew all his opponents, that nothing but force of arms and a successful war should be able to expel him. He determined to claim the crown, as heir to the house of Lancaster, and never to allow that claim to be discussed; hoping, that this pretended right, favoured by the partizans of that family, and seconded by the possession of present power, could secure him a perpetual and independent authority.

Henry obtained the crown while possessed of dispositions that were, in every respect, unworthy of a monarch. He had early imbibed an antipathy to the Yorkists, which neither time nor experience were ever able to efface; and thus carried to the throne all the partialities that can belong to the head of a faction. His gloomy and suspicious temper rendered him unwilling to embrace the present happy opportunity, of engaging in the benevolent design of abolishing those fatal distinctions which had distracted England; and hence, by treating the Yorkists as his enemies, he soon rendered them such, and taught them to discuss the weakness and invalidity of his claim to the crown.

Two days after the battle of Bosworth, he ordered Sir Robert Willoughby to take Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, the son of the duke of Clarence, from sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire, and to convey him to the Tower, where

where he was to be kept in close confinement. That prince had been treated with great indulgence by Richard, who had actually proclaimed him heir to the crown after the death of his own son, and ordered him to be served next to himself and the queen, though he afterwards set him aside, and confined him, when the plots of his enemies thickened, to the above castle.

Henry proceeded by slow journeys towards the capital ; and to avoid raising the jealousy of the people, caused every thing about him to bear the appearance of his being an established monarch, making a peaceful progress through his dominions, rather than of a prince who obtained the crown by force of arms. A young and victorious king was, on his accession, naturally an object of popularity, and the nation flattered themselves with enjoying great felicity from his reign. The kingdom had, for almost a century, been laid waste by domestic wars, and distracted by faction : but Henry, by his proposed marriage with Elizabeth, seemed to ensure an union of the contending titles of the two families. Hence numerous and splendid troops of the nobility and gentry attended him in his progress : as he approached the city, he was received by the mayor, aldermen, and companies of London, with crowds of citizens, expressing their satisfaction. But amidst the general joy, he indulged the reserve and stateliness of his temper, and being unwilling to gratify the people

with the sight of their new monarch, entered London in a close carriage.

The next day Henry assembled a council, of all the persons of distinction in the court and city; and as he knew his marriage with the princess Elizabeth was passionately desired by the whole nation, he renewed his oath to perform it. This was absolutely necessary, as, on his leaving Britanny, he had artfully dropped some hints, that should he succeed in his enterprize, and be seated on the throne of England, he would marry Anne, the heiress of that dutchy. This had already reached England, and gave some uneasiness both to the people, and even to the princess herself. But though bound both by honour and interest to complete this alliance, he was fully determined to postpone it till after his coronation, and his title had been acknowledged by parliament. Anxious to support his right to the throne, he dreaded lest the queen, by being crowned with him, should have a share in the sovereignty; and that some clause might be inserted by parliament in favour of the house of York, that might raise doubts of his own title.

At this time the Sweating Sickness, a disease unknown to any other age or nation, raged in London, and other parts of the kingdom. A disorder, of which great multitudes died, though it did not appear to be propagated by any contagious infection, but seemed to arise from the general disposition of the air and of the human body. The patient commonly died or recovered in less than twenty-four

four hours; but after it had for a few weeks exerted its fury, it began to abate, either from alterations in the air, or from there being discovered a more proper regimen.

Henry, in order to heighten the splendor of his coronation, raised twelve persons to the rank of knights banneret; he also created his uncle Jasper, earl of Pembroke, duke of Bedford, Thomas lord Stanley, his father-in-law, earl of Derby, and Edward Courteney, earl of Devonshire. He was crowned by cardinal Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, on the 30th of October 1485; and on this occasion there appeared a new institution, which Henry established both for pomp and security. This was a band of fifty archers, who were styled yeomen of the guard. But lest the people should be offended at this unusual mark of jealousy, which seemed to imply a diffidence of his subjects, he declared the institution to be perpetual.

The parliament met eight days after the coronation; and Henry, by being crowned before, shewed, that he did not mean to bring his title into question, or to leave to the parliament any thing more than to confirm his coronation. The majority of the parliament, however, appeared to be immediately devoted to Henry; all other persons, either declining to stand, or being obliged to dissemble their principles. The Lancastrian party had been successful in the elections, and even many were returned who, while the house of York prevailed, had been attainted and outlawed.

Upon their right to take their seats in the house, being called in question, the affair was referred to the judges, who determined, that these members should forbear taking their seats till their attaignment was reversed by act of parliament; and that act was presently passed.

A more important scruple was now started in relation to the king himself having been attainted, by which some doubt might arise of his right to succeed to the throne. The judges extricated themselves in this difficulty, by asserting, that the crown removes all defects in blood, and that from the time the king assumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attaingments and corruptions of blood removed. With so obsequious a parliament, the king found no difficulty in obtaining an act of settlement agreeable to himself. Yet he seems to have entertained some doubt, on what claim it was best for him to found his pretensions. He mentioned, in his first speech to the parliament, his just title by hereditary right; but lest that should be insufficient, he added his claim by the judgment of God, who had enabled him to triumph over his enemies; and lest this should be considered as his assuming a right of conquest, he ensured to the people the enjoyment of their former properties and possessions.

The entail of the crown was probably drawn in words that were dictated by himself, no mention being made of the princess Elizabeth, nor any other branch of her family: but though Henry was contented with securing the

succession to the heirs of his body, he did not pretend, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or to give the preference to that of Lancaster. He, for the present, left that great point ambiguous, and expected, that if it should ever be necessary to determine it, the decision would be directed by future incidents. He was, however, so little satisfied with his title, that in the following year he applied for a confirmation of it to papal authority; and as the court of Rome readily laid hold of every opportunity of extending its influence, Innocent VIII. made no scruple of granting a bull, in which all Henry's titles by succession, marriage, conquest, and the choice of parliament are enumerated: to these was added the sanction of religion; excommunication was pronounced against all who should oppose his present possession, or his heirs in their future succession to the crown; a penalty from which no criminal, except in the article of death, could be absolved but by the pope himself, or his special commissioners.

It was natural for Henry to reverse all the attainders, which had passed against the partisans of the house of Lancaster: but the revenge he took on the followers of the house of York, to which he was so soon to be allied, was, in the highest degree, cruel and unjust. Yet at his instigation, the parliament passed an act of attainder against the late king himself, against the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, viscount Lovell, the lords Zouche and Ferrers of Chartley, Sir William Berkeley,

Sir Humphrey Stafford, Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington, Catesby, and about twenty other gentlemen, who, in the battle of Bosworth, had fought on Richard's side. But how any man could be guilty of treason by fighting for the king in possession of the throne, against the earl of Richmond, who did not assume the title of king, and had been before attainted, is not easy to conceive. In this act no mention was made of the supposed murder of Edward the Fifth and the duke of York, which would have been the most heinous aggravation of Richard's crimes ; nor was any prosecution of the supposed assassins even thought of till eleven years afterwards, on the appearance of Perkin Warbeck. Thus Henry at once gratified his revenge and his avarice ; for the confiscations produced very large sums. It was, however, no small mortification to the people in general, to find that the king should, in the very beginning of his reign, violate the cordial union which both parties had previously concerted, and to the expectation of which he evidently owed his succession to the throne.

Henry having obtained from the parliament so many important points, did not think proper to demand a supply ; the large sums to be raised by the forfeitures of Richard's adherents, and the profound peace which the nation then enjoyed, seemed to render this unnecessary. However, the parliament conferred on him the duty of tonnage and poundage during life, and added other money-bills of no great importance. The king now published a royal

royal proclamation, by which a pardon was offered to all who had taken arms or engaged in any attempt against him, on condition of their submitting themselves to mercy by a certain day, and taking the usual oath of fealty and allegiance. This induced many to leave their sanctuaries, and contributed to compose the minds of the people. This act of grace, so agreeable to the nation, the king chose to take wholly to himself, rather than to have it confirmed by parliament. Yet though the earl of Surrey submitted, and delivered himself up into the hands of the king, he was, in violation of this act, committed prisoner to the Tower.

Henry, during this parliament, also bestowed favours and honours on some of his particular adherents. Edward Stafford, the duke of Buckingham's eldest son, who had been attainted in the late reign, was restored both to the honours of his family, and to his fortune. This proceeded from Henry's gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had first formed the plan of his advancement, and had made way for that great event, by his own ruin. Chandos of Britanny, was made earl of Bath; Sir Robert Willoughby, lord Broke; and Sir Giles Daubeney, lord Daubeney. The king, during this session of parliament, conferred no other titles of nobility.

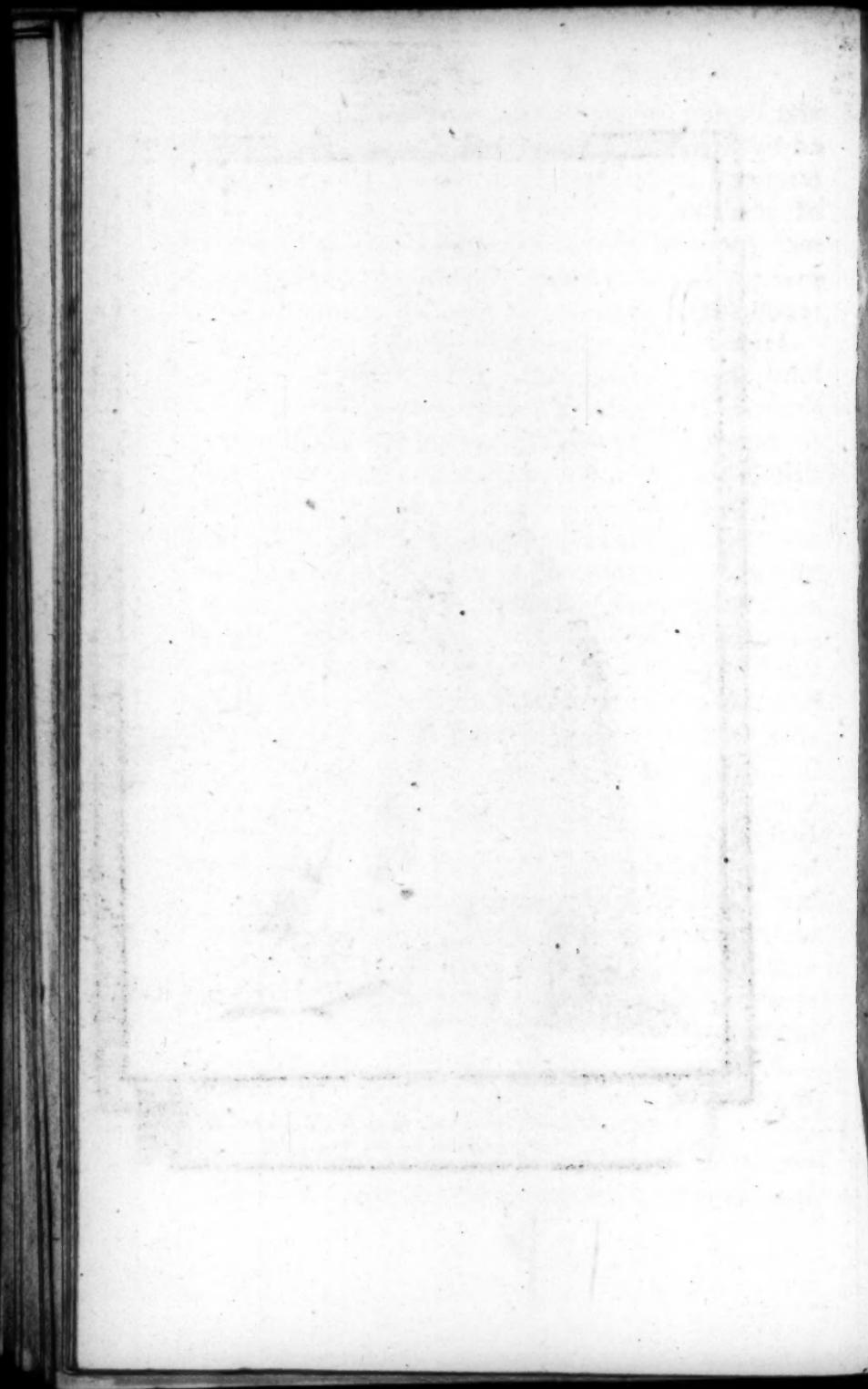
The ministers, most favoured and trusted by Henry, were not taken from the nobility. He chiefly trusted his affairs and secret councils, to John Morton and Richard Fox, two clergymen

men distinguished by their capacities, industry and vigilance ; for as they had shared with him in his former distresses, he made them participate in his good fortune. Morton was restored to the bishopric of Ely ; Fox created bishop of Exeter, and both called to the privy council. Upon the death of Bourchier, the former was soon after raised to the see of Canterbury ; the latter was made privy seal, and successively promoted to the sees of Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester. He was fond of employing and advancing prelates, because it was easy to reward their services by rich bishoprics ; and to render them more dependent on him, he raised them by slow steps, expecting, that the prospect of farther elevation would not only render them more active in his service, but more ready to obey his commands.

Though Henry heartily hated the house of York, he the next year found it necessary to satisfy the minds of the people, by fulfilling his promise, to marry the princess Elizabeth. His nuptials were celebrated at London with greater appearance of universal joy, than either his first entry or his coronation. The demonstrations of popular satisfaction shewn on this occasion, were extremely mortifying to the king, who considered them as so many marks of affection to the house of York. The suspicions, which arose from this circumstance, made him conceive the utmost aversion to the queen, and disturbed his tranquility during his whole reign. His consort, though virtuous, amiable, and



*Lady Elizabeth, Queen to K. Henry VII  
in the Habit of the Time.*



and perfectly obsequious, was constantly treated by him with the utmost coldness and indifference; and never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaisance; the malignant ideas of faction in his sullen mind, prevailing over every sentiment of conjugal tenderness.

Henry had, ever since his arrival in England, been carried along with such a stream of success, that notwithstanding his ill humour, he began to think, that nothing could withstand his good fortune and authority. He therefore resolved to make a progress into the north, where the friends of the house of York, and even the partizans of Richard, were the most numerous; hoping, that by his presence and conversation, he should be able to cure their prejudices. On his arrival at Nottingham, he was informed, that viscount Lovell, with Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother Thomas, had privately left their sanctuary at Colchester. But this news appearing of too little consequence to put a stop to his journey, he proceeded to York, where he heard, that the Stafford's had not only levied an army, but were approaching to besiege the city of Worcester; and that Lovell, who had three or four thousand men under his command, was marching to attack him in York.

Henry was the more alarmed, from his being surrounded with enemies in the disaffected counties; but concealing his fears and suspicions, he immediately issued orders for levying troops in the neighbourhood of York, where

where his officers having raised a body of three thousand men, he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford ; and joining with them all his own attendants, gave orders to the duke not to approach too near his enemies, but to try every proper expedient to disperse them ; and particularly to publish a pardon, in the king's name, to all who should lay down their arms and submit. This expedient succeeded to Henry's wish, and had a greater effect on their commander than on his followers. Lovell, apprehensive of being deserted by his troops, and finding that he had undertaken an enterprize that exceeded his capacity and courage, retired alone into Lancaster, where he lay for some time concealed in the house of his friend Sir Thomas Broughton ; and then crossing the sea, repaired to the court of the dutchess dowager of Burgundy. His army submitted to the king's mercy ; and the news of this success reaching the other rebels, they raised the siege of Worcester and dispersed. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village in the neighbourhood of Abingdon ; but the court of king's bench declaring, that this church had not the privilege of affording protection to the rebels, they were taken thence by force. The elder brother Humphrey, was soon after executed at Tyburn, but the younger obtained a pardon, on his pleading, that he had been misled by his brother.

The king's joy for this success was followed on the twentieth of September 1486, by the birth

birth of a prince, to whom was given the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British king of that name, from whom Henry affected to derive his origin. The people were filled with hopes, that this prince's birth would warm Henry's indifference into a real affection for the mother; but when they observed that it had no such effect, that he delayed her coronation, and took all opportunities of depressing the friends of the house of York, which was generally beloved throughout the whole kingdom, they began to look upon him with detestation, and even to think, that they had made a bad exchange. He, on all occasions, not only gave the preference to the Lancastrians, but many of the opposite party had been treated with great severity, and, by acts of attainder, deprived of their fortunes. All the grants made by the princes of the house of York had been in general resumed; and though the liberalities granted during the latter years of Henry VI. were also resumed by the same law, yet the party of the house of York being the principal sufferers, thought the resumptions chiefly levelled against them. The severity with which the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence's son, was treated, filled the people with compassion for his youth and innocence; and his confinement in the Tower made them apprehend, that the king intended to have him murdered; and it was whispered abroad, that the duke of York had escaped from that place of confinement, and was still alive on the continent.

The

The joy expressed by the people at this report, encouraged Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, to disturb Henry's government, by raising a pretender to his crown ; for which purpose he made choice of Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, the son of a baker, who being endowed with extraordinary abilities and personal accomplishments, with an address above his condition, appeared proper to personate a prince of royal extraction ; he instructed him to assume the name of Richard, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV. but afterwards hearing that Warwick had escaped from the Tower, and observing that this report was also attended with equal satisfaction, he changed his plan, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince. Though nature had formed him for the part he was to act, yet he was thought to be better informed of such circumstances as related to the royal family, and particularly of the earl of Warwick's adventures, than he could have learned from Simon ; whence it was conjectured, that the plan of this conspiracy was laid by persons of a higher rank, and that he had received proper instructions from the partizans of the house of York. Among these was the queen dowager herself, who had secretly given her consent to the imposture. Instead of being rewarded for her services, in contributing to Henry's obtaining the crown, she had not only lost all her power, but found her daughter treated with severity, and all her friends reduced to a state of subjection. Hence

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she conceived a violent aversion to the king, and resolved to make him feel the effects of her resentment. Yet it cannot be supposed, that her restless spirit could, within a year's time, influence her to throw the nation again into a civil war, and to attempt to dethrone her own daughter, in favour of the issue of Clarence, to whose death she had contributed, much less in favour of an usurper. She certainly knew that Richard, her second son, had escaped, and was living; and was glad to overturn the usurper without risking her child. She knew that the impostor might at last be easily set aside; and if, by his means, she could overturn the government, she flattered herself, that she should gratify her revenge.

Simon, notwithstanding his care to instruct Simnel, was sensible that the imposture might be easily discovered in England; and therefore determined to lay the first public scene of it in Ireland. The people there were zealously attached to the house of York, and had a sincere regard for the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their lieutenant. Henry had left that kingdom in the same condition in which he found it; and all the counsellors and officers appointed by Richard, still retained their authority. Hence Simnel no sooner appeared before Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claimed his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that nobleman, having no suspicion of so bold a fiction, received him kindly, and consulted several persons of rank on this extraordinary

incident. They appeared more sanguine in their belief, and in their zeal, than he himself; and as the story spread among those of lower rank, he became the object of general credulity, till the inhabitants of Dublin tendered their allegiance to Simnel, and overlooking the daughters of Edward IV. who, in the order of succession, stood before Warwick, paid their attendance on the pretended prince as their sovereign; lodged him in Dublin castle, and proclaimed him king by the name of Edward VI. After which he was crowned with great solemnity, with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, by the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, in the presence of the bishops of Meath and Derry, the earl of Kildare, and all the other officers of state in the kingdom. The example given by the capital was followed by the whole island, and not a sword was drawn or a word spoken in defence of Henry's cause.

Henry, on receiving intelligence of this event, was involved in some perplexity. He had always determined to face his enemies in person, yet was at present unwilling to leave England, where he had reason to suspect the conspiracy was first formed, and where the people in general were disposed to join in it. In order to oppose this open revolt, he had frequent consultations with his ministers and counsellors, to discover the secret springs by which it was put in motion.

These deliberations were followed by an event, which filled the public with surprize. This

This was the seizure of the queen dowager ; the forfeiture of all her lands and revenues, without her being brought to a trial, and the close confinement of her person in the nunnery of Bermondsey, where she remained a close prisoner till her death, in a state of poverty, and deprived of the sight of her friends : an act of authority that was covered with a very slender pretence, it being only alledged, that notwithstanding the secret agreement to marry her daughter to Henry, she had delivered that princess and her sisters into the hands of Richard. Hence it is probable, that the king found the queen dowager was privy to the escape, or at least to the existence of her second son ; and therefore secured her, lest she should bear testimony to the truth, and form insurrections in his favour ; and hence it was thought dangerous to visit or see the queen dowager during her imprisonment.

Henry's next measure appeared less exceptionable. He exhibited the earl of Warwick on a Sunday, and had him led in procession through all the principal streets of London. The poor prince was then conducted to St. Paul's Crofs, and openly examined by the nobility, from the hopes, that they being convinced of Simnel's absurd imposture, would put a stop to the credulity of the people. After the prince was thus shewn as a public spectacle, he was sent back to the Tower. In England this expedient had the desired effect ; but the Irish still persisted in their revolt, and warmly retorted on the king, the reproach of

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having exhibited to the public a counterfeit Warwick.

In the mean time John, earl of Lincoln, the son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, the eldest sister to Edward IV. openly espoused Simnel's cause. This nobleman, who possessed capacity and courage, had also been declared, by his uncle Richard, presumptive heir of the crown; and embarked for Flanders, in order to concert with his aunt Margaret, the widow of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, proper measures for ensuring success. That princess, by her virtuous conduct, had acquired great authority among the Flemings, and lived with much dignity upon the ample dowry she inherited from her husband. Her resentments were no less warm than her friendships: for being incensed at Henry's behaviour to her niece, and at the virulence with which he persecuted all the partizans of the house of York, she resolved to make ~~the~~ <sup>it</sup> repent of that enmity to which so many of her friends, without any reason or necessity, had fallen victims. She therefore readily engaged in the scheme of supporting Simnel, which had probably been projected with her privy and concurrence; and after consulting with Lincoln and Lovell, hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, commanded by Martin Schwart, a brave and experienced officer, and sent them, with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. This greatly raised the courage of the Irish; and a council being held, after some debate, it

it was agreed, that the seat of the war should be transferred to England, where, believing the spirit of disaffection prevailed as much as in Ireland, they expected to be joined by all who favoured the house of York; by which means they should be easily able to oppose the usurper.

Henry being informed of their intentions, was employed in making preparations to defend himself against the impending storm. Having caused troops to be levied in different parts of the kingdom, he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Oxford. He confined the marquis of Dorset in the Tower, from the suspicion, that he would resent the injuries suffered by the queen dowager, his mother; and to please the people, by an appearance of devotion, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of our lady of Walsingham, who was famous for working miracles; and there offered up his prayers for success, and a deliverance from his enemies.

The king soon after learned, that Simnel and his friends had landed in Lancashire, where they were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, and a small number of English. They had began their march towards York, in expectation of seeing their numbers daily increase; and with a view to interest the people in their favour, forbore all acts of hostility in the country through which they passed. They were, however, greatly disappointed in their expectations. The people, either dreading Henry's sagacity and fortune, or averse to a

king thus introduced by the Irish and Germans, were far from taking arms in his favour. On which the earl of Lincoln, dreading lest his army, which consisted of only eight thousand men, should rather diminish than increase, resolved to give battle to the king before he had assembled all his forces. For this purpose he turned to the south, and marched towards Newark, in hopes of making himself master of that town before the enemy's arrival. Henry had reached Nottingham with six thousand men under his command; and being joined by the earl of Shrewsbury and the lord Strange, at the head of an equal number, he resolved to engage the rebels without delay. Guessing Lincoln's design upon the town of Newark, he, with great expedition, marched thither, and posted himself between the enemy and the town, while the earl of Lincoln encamped on the declivity of a hill, near the village of Stoke.

The next day, which was the 6th of June 1487, Henry drew up his army in order of battle upon the plain, which was so narrow, that he could not extend his front, he therefore formed his troops into three lines, placing six thousand of his best men in the front. The enemy marched down in order, and attacked the royalists with great intrepidity, hoping, that should they be able to break the king's first line, it would fall back on the other line, and his whole army would be thrown into confusion. The Irish, who were thinly cloathed, were terribly galled by the arrows of the English,

lish, yet maintained their ground with great intrepidity ; and the German troops, who were well disciplined and enured to war, fought for three hours with great courage, till most of them were slain, with Martin Schwart, their leader. The earls of Lincoln and Kildare met with the same fate, and their army was entirely routed, with the loss of four thousand men, who fell in the field of battle. Nor was the victory cheaply purchased by Henry, half of his first line being cut to pieces.

This victory was rendered the more complete, as Simnel and his tutor Simon were taken prisoners. Henry affected to despise his rival so much, that he would not deprive him of life, but retained him as a scullion in his kitchen, from which low station he was afterwards promoted to the place of a falconer. Henry's biographer says, that he was kept as a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of the people in time to come ; but it has been with great probability supposed, that he hoped, by keeping up the memory of Simnel's impoiture, to discredit the true duke of York whenever he should appear. Simon, the priest, was committed to prison, and never heard of after.

Henry, immediately after the battle, marched to Lincoln, and from thence to York, giving, in his progress, many proofs of his rigorous disposition. He caused a strict enquiry to be made after all who assisted or favoured the rebels ; but the punishments were not all sanguinary, for he rendered his revenge subservi-

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ent to his avarice, and levied heavy fines upon the delinquents. The criminals were tried partly by commissioners appointed for that purpose, and partly by a court-martial: and as, before the battle of Stoke, a rumour had prevailed, that the royal army was cut in pieces, and that the king escaped by flight, Henry resolved to interpret not only the propagation, but the belief of this report, as a mark of disaffection; and many were heavily fined for this pretended crime.

The king having gratified his rigour and avarice, by the punishment of his enemies, he resolved to satisfy the people in a point which they passionately desired. Though near two years had elapsed since the queen's marriage, she had not yet been crowned; and the public were much discontented at this delay. The king caused the ceremony of her coronation to be performed on the 25th of November 1487, with the usual ceremonies; and upon this occasion, restored to liberty the marquis of Dorset, who had been able to clear himself of all the suspicions entertained against him.

As Henry had now, by his success in his domestic affairs, acquired a considerable reputation throughout Europe, he was invited to exert himself in favour of his allies, which renders it necessary to explain the state of the neighbouring kingdoms, in order to give a just idea of his transactions with his foreign neighbours; and we shall begin with Scotland.

That kingdom had not yet acquired that civilized state necessary to enable the government

ment to preserve order and tranquility, without the sovereign's being possessed of an extraordinary capacity. The throne was, at this time, filled by James III. who had a narrow genius, and little industry; and though it was necessary for him to commit the reigns of government to his ministers, he was never able, in his choice of them, to please either himself or his people. Whenever he made use of his principal nobility, he observed, that they raised their own families to such a height, as was dangerous to him, and disagreeable to the nation; and when he conferred his favours on any one of a meaner birth, the barons, envying the power of an upstart, proceeded to the utmost extremities against their prince. This might have induced Henry to make an attempt to conquer that kingdom; but as he was, probably, sensible, that he should never be able to retain the Scots in obedience without a regular military force, which was then unknown in England, he rather chose to renew the peace with Scotland, and for that purpose sent an embassy to James. But as the Scots never desired a durable peace with England, they only agreed to a seven years truce, which was concluded.

Spain was now become formidable by the union of Castile and Arragon, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, who being possessed of great capacities, employed their strength in the most advantageous enterprize. They had undertaken the conquest of Granada from the Moors, and nearly brought it to a conclusion,

tion. The military genius of Spain was revived in that war; honour and security were obtained; and the king being no longer awed by such dangerous domestic enemies, began to enter into all the transactions of Europe, and to be distinguished in every war and negotiation.

During the two preceding reigns, France had greatly increased in power and extent. Normandy, Dauphiny, Champaigne, Anjou, Burgundy, Provence, and Guienne, had been united to the crown; and the power and authority of the prince, enabled him to maintain a constant regular military force, which his revenues enabled him to support. These advantages were derived from Lewis XI. who dying, left his son in early youth: but having entrusted the government to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a woman of capacity and spirit, she supported the power of the French, and even formed the great project of uniting Britanny to the crown, the last and most independent fief of that monarchy.

Francis the Second, duke of Britanny, having been sensible of his own incapacity, had resigned the direction of the government to Peter Landais, who was of a mean birth, and more distinguished for his abilities than for his integrity. The nobles, displeased with this favourite's advancement, after many tumults at length united, and in a violent manner seized the hated minister, tried, and put him to death. Then dreading the consequences of their having thus invaded the authority

thority of their prince, many of them sought for protection in France, and others carried on a secret correspondence with the French ministry, who, on observing the great dissensions that prevailed among the Bretons, thought this a favourable opportunity for invading that dutchy.

In France Lewis, duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to that crown, had endeavoured to obtain the administration, in preference to the lady Anne of Beaujeu ; and his pretensions being rejected by the state, he still caballed with many of the grandes, and endeavoured to subvert that princess's authority. On his conspiracies being detected, he took arms, and fortified himself in Beaujenci ; but as he had revolved before his confederates were prepared to join him, he had been obliged to submit to such conditions as the French ministry were pleased to impose upon him. His ambition and his fears soon induced him to retire from France into Britanny, where Francis II. was desirous of strengthening himself, against the designs of the lady of Beaujeu, by his friendship and credit. The duke of Orleans, on perceiving the ascendant he acquired over the duke of Britanny, prevailed on many of his partizans to join him at that court, and formed the design of marrying Anne, the heiress of that opulent dutchy.

The barons of Britanny, on finding that the duke of Orleans and his train engrossed their prince's favour, carried on a close correspondence

✓ correspondence with France, and even invited that court to invade their country: but being desirous of preserving its independency, they limited the number of succours France was to send them, and stipulated, that no fortified place in Britanny should remain in the possession of that crown; a vain precaution in treating with such a superior power! The French, with treble the number of forces they had promised to the barons, invaded Britanny; and advancing into the heart of the country, invested Ploermel. The duke, in order to oppose them, levied a numerous, but ill-disciplined, army, which he put under the command of the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, and others of the French nobility. The army, dissatisfied with their commanders, soon disbanded, and their prince was left with so small a force, that he was unable to keep the field against his invaders. Upon this he retired to Vannes; but being closely pursued by the French, who had now taken Ploermel, he escaped to Nantz; and the enemy, after having taken and put garrisons into Vannes, Dinant, and other places, laid close siege to that city.

The nobles of Britanny, on seeing that their country was in danger of being entirely subdued, gradually withdrew from the French army, and made peace with their sovereign. The court of France was, however, not disengaged at this desertion of the Bretons, but pursued their favourite design of reducing that dutchy. Its execution seems to be favoured

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by the situation of Europe. Maximilian, king of the Romans, the son of the emperor Frederick, had married the heiress of Burgundy, and acquired an interest in the Netherlands. This prince was engaged in a close alliance with the duke of Britanny, and had opened a treaty for marrying his daughter, but was so indigent, that no effectual assistance could be expected from him. Ferdinand, king of Spain, was entirely taken up with the conquest of Granada. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by interest, to support the independency of that dutchy ; and therefore Anne of Beaujeu expected the greatest opposition from thence. This induced her to send ambassadors to the court of London, immediately on her hearing of Henry's success against Simnel.

The ambassadors, after congratulating the king on his late victory, and in the most cordial manner communicating to him, as to an intimate friend, the success of the French against Maximilian, mentioned the late transactions in Britanny. They observed, that Francis II. having afforded protection to French fugitives and rebels, the king had, contrary to his inclinations, been obliged to make war on that dutchy : that the honour of the crown required, that a vassal should not be suffered to forget his duty to his liege lord : that the fugitives were not obscure persons, but, among others, the duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, who, after being guilty of treasonable practices in France, had fled

into Britanny, where he still persevered in laying schemes of rebellion against his sovereign : that thus the war being entirely defensive on the part of the French king, it would entirely cease when the duke of Britanny should return to his duty : that their master was fully sensible of the obligations which the duke had conferred on Henry ; but it was also known, that he, or his mercenary counsellors, had, in times still more critical, deserted his cause : that the court of France had, in these desperate extremities, been his sole refuge, and not only protected his person, but supplied him with men and money, with which, in conjunction with his own valour and conduct, he had been enabled to mount the throne ; and that from the superior justice of the cause, and the obligations France had conferred on Henry, it was reasonably expected, that if his affairs did not permit his giving assistance to that kingdom, he would at least preserve a neutrality.

This plausible discourse of the French ambassadors did not impose on Henry, who plainly saw, that France had entertained the design of subduing Britanny ; but he also observed, that she would meet with great, and, as he imagined, insuperable difficulties in its execution. He knew the native force of that dutchy had resisted the power of France without any foreign assistance, and imagined, that the natural levity of the French would make them abandon any enterprize which required perseverance. He perceived that Maximilian, whose enmity to France was well known, and who

now

now paid his addresses to the heiress of Britanny, would be able to make a diversion on the side of Flanders; and that Ferdinand and Isabella would not suffer France to prosecute its ambitious views; and above all, that the court of England was too deeply interested, to permit such an accession of force to be added to their rivals the French. Henry's avarice, however, rendering him averse to warlike enterprizes and distant expeditions, he resolved to try the effect of negociation, before he attempted to send any succours to Britanny.

For this purpose Henry sent Urswick, his almoner, who was a man of abilities and address, to offer his mediation, which, if accepted by France, he imagined would soon lead to an accommodation; and if it was refused or eluded, would at least discover, that France was resolved to persevere in her ambitious projects. Urswick appeared before the lady of Beaujeau, now dutchess of Bourbon, while she was engaged in the siege of Nantz, and was pleased to find, that, with many expressions of confidence and moderation, she readily embraced his master's offers and mediation. That able princess at once concluded, that the duke of Orleans, by whom the court of Britanny was governed, would foresee, that the accommodation must be made at his expence, and would therefore use all his interest to have Henry's proposal rejected; by which means he would cause the Bretons to be reproached with injustice and obstinacy; nor was she mistaken. When Urswick made the same

offer to the duke of Britanny, he was answered, that the duke having so long been the protector and guardian of Henry, during his youth and adverse fortune, he had expected more effectual assistance in his present distress, than a barren offer of mediation, that did not suspend the progress of the French arms: that if the gratitude of Henry was too little to engage him in such a measure, his prudence, as king of England, should render him sensible of the pernicious consequences that must attend the conquest of Britanny, and its being annexed to the crown of France, which being already too powerful, would, by such an accession of strength, be enabled to display, to the ruin of England, that hostile disposition, which had constantly subsisted between those rival nations: that so useful an ally as Britanny, which, by its situation, afforded the English an entrance into the heart of France, would, on its being annexed to that kingdom, be equally enabled, by its situation, to disturb the commerce and peace of England, either by naval armaments or piracies; and that the duke's rejecting Henry's mediation, neither proceeded from his desire to continue a war, which he found to be ruinous, nor from a confidence in his own strength, which he found to be much inferior to that of the enemy; but, on the contrary, from necessity, which ought to engage the king of England to join him, and instead of acting the part of a mediator, to become his confederate.

Henry,

Henry, on being informed of this answer, only concluded, that more time was necessary to conquer the obstinacy of the Bretons; he therefore continued his scheme of negociation, and by this means exposed himself to be deceived by the artifices of the French ministry, who sent lord Bernard Daubigny, a Scotch nobleman, to London, to persuade the king to persevere in offering his mediation to the court of Britanny. Upon this Henry dispatched another embassy, consisting of Sir Richard Tonstall, Urswick, and the abbot of Abingdon, with new proposals for an accommodation. In the mean time no succours being sent to the distressed Bretons, lord Woodville, the queen dowager's brother, a man of courage and enterprize, asked leave to raise privately a body of volunteers, and to conduct them into Britanny, but was refused. That nobleman, however, still persisting in his design, went to the isle of Wight, and levying a body of four hundred men, sailed with them to Britanny; but unhappily this enterprize proved fatal both to the leader and his few followers. The Bretons were defeated in a general engagement with the French at St. Aubin; and Woodville, with all the English, put to the sword, together with a body of Bretons, who, in order to strike a greater terror into the French, were dressed in the garb of Englishmen. The duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and other persons of rank were taken prisoners, and the military force of Britanny entirely destroyed; this, with the death of the duke, which hap-

pened soon after, involved the affairs of that dutchy in such confusion, as threatened its final subjection.

Henry, who had determined to maintain his pacific conduct as long as the situation of his affairs would permit, observing, that the ancient and inveterate animosity of his subjects to France was revived, by the prospect of that kingdom's gaining such an accession of power, resolved to take advantage of this disposition, in obtaining supplies, under the pretence of going to the assistance of Britanny. Having summoned a parliament at Westminster, they granted him a considerable subsidy: but this supply, notwithstanding its being voted by parliament, involved the king in unexpected difficulties. The counties of York and Durham, discontented with Henry's government, and provoked at the oppressions they had suffered after the suppression of Simnel's rebellion, resisted the commissioners appointed to levy the tax. This induced them to apply to the earl of Northumberland, whom they desired to advise and assist them in the execution of their office. That nobleman thought the affair of such importance, that he wrote to court for directions; and the king insisted peremptorily on the people's paying their proportion of the subsidy, observing, that the affairs of Britanny were very pressing, and that should he, on this occasion, relinquish his right, other counties would be encouraged to claim the same exemption.

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The earl no sooner received this answer, than assembling the justices and freeholders of the county, he made known his majesty's pleasure in such imperious terms, as he imagined would enforce obedience, but which only served to provoke the people, and make them believe, that he was the adviser of the orders he delivered. They therefore flew to arms, attacked Northumberland in his house, and slew him, with several of his servants; and having incurred this guilt, declared against the king himself, chusing Sir John Egremond, a partisan of the house of York, for their leader.

Henry was not much disconcerted with this precipitate insurrection; but immediately raising a body of forces, put them under the command of the earl of Surry, whom he had freed from his confinement in the Tower, and admitted into favour. He intended to send these troops to check the progress of the rebels, while he himself followed with a greater body, that would ensure success. That nobleman, however, thought himself strong enough to encounter a raw and unarmed multitude, and succeeded in the attempt. The rebels were dispersed; John A chamber, who had instigated the people to have recourse to arms, was taken prisoner, and afterwards executed with a great number of his accomplices; but Sir John Egremond fled to the dutchess of Burgundy, and the rest of the rebels received a pardon.

As the distresses of the Bretons still increased, and became daily more pressing, Henry

ry found himself obliged to take more vigorous measures for their support, especially as the duke of Orleans being now a prisoner in France, the former pretensions of the French for hostilities could no longer cover their ambition. The king, therefore, pretended to consult the interest as well as the desire of his people, by seeming to oppose the progress of their power. Having entered into a league with Ferdinand and Maximilian, he raised a body of six thousand men ; but anxious for the repayment of his expences, obliged the young dutches to engage to deliver two sea-port towns into his hands, till she should pay him his expences, and though he only engaged that these troops should serve eight months, the dutches was obliged to submit to such severe conditions, imposed by an ally so much bound by interest to protect her. Lord Willoughby of Broke arrived in Britanny with these few forces, and for some time made the Bretons masters of the field. The French now retiring into their garrisons, endeavoured, by their dilatory measures, to waste the fire of the English. At the same time the lord Broke found the court of Britanny rent with faction, and the councils filled with such discord and confusion, that no measures could be properly concerted ; no supply obtained, nor provisions, artillery, military stores or carriages procured ; for, whatever project was formed by one minister, was sure to be traversed by another. Hence the English, as soon as the time of their service was expired, returned home, and left

only

only small garrisons in the towns configned to them. During their stay, they had only contributed to waste the country still farther, and by their departure, left it entirely at the enemy's mercy.

The domestic dissensions in Britanny were occasioned by the disposal of the young dutchess in marriage. The suit of the lord d'Albret, who brought some forces to her assistance, was seconded by the marshal Rieux: but the dutchess's aversion to this suitor, being observed by Montauban, the chancellor, he insisted, that a petty prince, like d'Albret, was unable to support the princess, and therefore recommended Maximilian, king of the Romans. This party at length prevailed, and the marriage being celebrated by proxy, the dutchess assumed the title of queen of the Romans. But Maximilian, who was destitute of money and troops, and continually embarrassed with the revolt of the Flemings, could send his distressed consort no succour: while d'Albret, exasperated at the preference being given to his rival, cruelly deserted her cause, and admitted the French into Nantz, the richest and strongest place in the dutchy.

The court of France now changed their scheme. Charles had been contracted to Margaret, the daughter of Maximilian, who, tho' too young for the consummation of her marriage, had been sent to Paris, and at this time enjoyed the title of queen of France. Besides her bringing the king a rich dowry, she was, after the death of her brother Philip, who was

then

then young, heiress to all the dominions of the house of Burgundy. As this seemed the most advantageous match that could be chosen for the young king, neither Maximilian nor Henry ever suspected that the French court would enter into other views. But Charles began to perceive, that the conquest of Britanny, in opposition both to the natives, and to all the great powers of Christendom, would be attended with great difficulties; and that should he make himself master of all the strong places in that dutchy, it would be impossible for him long to retain the possession of them; and that nothing but the marriage of the dutchess could fully annex that fief to the crown; and this appeared preferable to the more distant and precarious prospect of inheriting the dominions of the house of Burgundy. Besides, the marriage of Maximilian and Anne seemed dangerous, with respect to the crown of France; since that prince, by possessing Britanny on the one hand, and Flanders on the other, might make inroads into the heart of the country from both quarters. The only remedy that appeared for these evils, was, the dissolution of the two marriages, which had not yet been consummated, and the king of France's espousing the dutchess of Britanny.

It was necessary that this scheme should be kept a profound secret, and not fully discovered till it was accomplished; and here the measures of the French ministry were extremely political. While they made Britanny suffer the rigours of war, they secretly gained the count

count of Dunois, who had great authority among the Bretons ; and having engaged the prince of Orange, cousin-german to the dutchess, in their interest, sent him into Britanny ; and these, in conjunction with the other emissaries of France, prepared the minds of the people for the projected revolution, and the advantages of an union with the French monarchy. Their suggestions had great influence on the Bretons ; but it was not so easy to remove the prejudices of the young dutchess. That princess had early imbibed strong prejudices against the French, and particularly against Charles, the author of all the calamities, which, from her infancy, had befallen her family. She had likewise fixed her affections on Maximilian ; and, thinking him her husband, was persuaded, that she could not marry another, without being guilty of violating the most solemn engagements. In order to overcome her reluctance, Charles set the duke of Orleans at liberty ; and though that prince had formerly been a suitor to the dutchess, he was now willing to employ all the interest he still possessed in Britanny, in the king of France's favour. By his mediation, the chancellor Montauban and marshal Rieux were reconciled, and induced to concur with the prince of Orange and the count of Dunois, in concluding the marriage. Charles now invested Rennes, in which the dutchess resided, with a powerful army ; when that princess being assailed on all hands, and finding none who countenanced her inflexibility, was at last obliged

liged to open the gates, and to consent to marry the French king. The ceremony was performed at Langey, in Touraine, whence she was conducted to St. Dennis, where she was crowned ; after which she made her entry into Paris, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who considered this marriage, by which Britanny was annexed to France, as a most prosperous and glorious event.

The king of the Romans was sensibly mortified at Charles's success. He had lost an accomplished princess, and a considerable territory ; he was besides affronted by the treatment of his daughter Margaret, who, after appearing several years as queen of France, was sent back to him ; and had reason to reproach himself with having neglected the consummation of his marriage, which would have rendered the tie indissoluble. These circumstances threw him into the most violent rage, and he threatened to invade France with the united forces of England, Austria, and Spain.

Henry had also just reason for self-reproach, for having left his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of a superior power, by which he had suffered the country to lose its independence. He had valued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgment, but now found, that a raw youth like Charles had out-witted him. He appeared therefore to be filled with the highest displeasure, and to be resolved to seek revenge, at a time when that was impracticable : but actuated by his avarice,

rice, a more predominant motive than either his pride or revenge ; he endeavoured to make his present disappointments the means of gratifying this ruling passion. Under the pretence of a French war, he issued a commission for obtaining a benevolence from his people ; a kind of tax, which had lately been abolished by one of the excellent laws of Richard III. This fell chiefly on the trading part of the nation, who were possessed of ready money ; and London alone contributed near ten thousand pounds, of the money of that time. Archbishop Morton directed the commissioners to make use of a dilemma, which might include every one : if the persons to whom they made application lived frugally, they were told, that they must have enriched themselves by their parsimony ; and if they lived in a splendid and hospitable manner, they were concluded to be wealthy from their expences. This was called by some counsellor Morton's Crutch, and by others his Fork.

Henry was so little apprehensive of his having incurred the resentment of the parliament, by this illegal imposition, that on the 27th of October 1491, he summoned that assembly to meet at Westminster, and hoped to enrich himself still farther, by working on their prejudices and passions. In his speech, which he pronounced himself, after mentioning the affair of Britanny, he told them, that Charles, elated with his late success, had even shewn his contempt of England, and refused to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had stipulated to

Edward IV. That so warlike a nation as the English ought to be roused by this indignity, and not to confine their pretensions to repelling the present injuries: that for his part, he was resolved to lay claim to the crown of France itself; and, by force of arms, to maintain so just a title, transmitted to him by his ancestors: that Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, were sufficient to shew their superiority over the enemy, and that he did not despair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue: that a king of France had been prisoner in London, and a king of England crowned at Paris; events that should animate them to emulate the glory of their forefathers: that the domestic dissensions of this kingdom had been the sole cause of its losing these foreign dominions, and its present internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them: that where they had such honours, and such an acquisition in view, brave men ought not to repine at advancing a little treasure; and that he hoped, by his invasion of so opulent a kingdom, to encrease, rather than diminish, the wealth of the nation.

Notwithstanding Henry's making these magnificent boasts, people of penetration concluded from his personal character, and the situation of affairs, that he did not seriously intend to carry on the war with vigour. France was no longer in the same situation, as when the former kings of England had made such successful inroads into that country. The great fiefs were united to the crown; the nation had many

many able captains and veteran soldiers, and seemed rather in a condition to threaten her neighbours, than to afford them the hopes of acquiring any considerable advantages against them. Maximilian wanted the revenue and military power necessary to support his pompous title ; and Ferdinand, while he made a shew of war, was actually negotiating for peace. England itself was not free from domestic discontents ; and in Scotland James III. Henry's friend and ally, having been murdered by his rebellious subjects, was succeeded by James IV. who was devoted to the interest of France. But the parliament, instead of being influenced by these considerations, were inflamed with the ideas of subduing France, and enriching themselves with its spoils ; they therefore granted the king two fifteenths ; and, the better to enable the nobility and vassals of the crown to attend the king in this expedition, passed an act, by which they were empowered to sell their estates, without paying any fines for alienation.

The desire of military glory having now seized the nobility, they thought of nothing but carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and seating their sovereign on the throne of France. Many of them sold a part of their estates, or borrowed large sums, to enable them to lead out their followers in more complete order.

The king set sail with twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse ; with which he arrived at Calais on the 6th of October

1492. Some imagining, from his being so late in opening the campaign, that a peace would soon be concluded, he told them, that he was come over to make an entire conquest of France, which not being the work of one summer, it was of no consequence in what season he began the invasion, especially as he had Calais for winter quarters. Then, as if he had seriously intended this, he marched into the enemy's country, and laid siege to Boulogne. Yet, notwithstanding this farce, secret advances had been made above three months before for a peace, and commissioners appointed to treat of the terms. In order to reconcile his subjects to this unexpected event, his ambassadors arrived in the camp from the Netherlands, with the news, that no assistance was to be expected from Maximilian, who was not ready to join him ; and soon after, messengers came from Spain with an account, that a peace was concluded between France and that kingdom. Henry caused these articles of intelligence to be dispersed through the army ; but still apprehensive of being exposed to reproach for having raised such high expectations, he privately prevailed on the marquis of Dorset, and twenty-three other persons of distinction, to present him a petition, in order to persuade him to agree to a treaty with France, on account of the late season of the year, the desertion of those allies, upon whose assistance he had most relied, the obstacles which attended the siege of Boulogne, and the difficulty of supplying the army at Calais during winter.

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Upon this, the bishop of Exeter and lord Daubeney were sent to Elstaples to confer with the marshal de Cordes, and to put the last hand to the treaty.

As Henry's demands were entirely pecuniary, the peace was signed within a few days; and the king of France, thinking that he could not pay too dear for the peaceable possession of Britanny, readily agreed to all Henry's proposals, and consented to pay him seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns\*; partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. and partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to Britanny; he also agreed to pay Henry and his heirs an annual pension of twenty-five thousand crowns. Thus, says Mr. Walpole, "he cheated, as well as oppressed, his subjects; and bartered the honour of the nation for foreign gold."

Maximilian might, if he pleased, have been included in the treaty; but he disdained to have any connection with such an ally; and therefore concluding a separate peace with France, obtained the restitution of Franche Compté, Artois, and Charolais, the dowry of his daughter, on her being contracted to the French king.

The above peace was the more likely to continue, as Charles, soon after, undertook the conquest of Naples. Henry's authority was now fully established at home, as every rebellion of his subjects had only tended to con-

\* Near 400,000 l. of our present money.

found his enemies, and establish his power. His reputation for policy continually augmented, and his treasures were encreased by the most unfavourable events. He had therefore reason to flatter himself with enjoying a lasting peace; but an adversary appeared, which, for a long time, kept him in perpetual inquietude. This rival bore the name, and assumed the state, of Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV. who, if living, must at this time have been twenty-one years of age; and have, in every respect, a better claim to the crown than Henry. Whether this young prince had really escaped out of the Tower about the time when the earl of Richmond's landing in Wales, had thrown every thing into confusion, or soon after, Henry had not been here above a year, before it was whispered about, and believed, that he had really made his escape. His aunt Margaret, the widow of Charles duke of Burgundy, was the only person from whom he could expect protection; and it was natural for him, as well as for those who contributed to his liberty, to think of his retreating to her court. That princess was, however, unable to protect him from the power of Henry. The affairs of the Netherlands were then in a dreadful confusion; the wealthy towns of Flanders were in a state of rebellion against Philip of Austria, their infant lord, and his father Maximilian, whom they soon after seized and imprisoned at Bruges; and though her distinguished virtues, and the admirable prudence of her conduct, had obtained

tained her the esteem and respect of the magistrates of those towns, they were so dependent on Henry for the profits they derived from their trade with England, that she could not expect them to support her, in giving an avowed protection to her nephew, at the expence of their trade. She could therefore only place him under a preceptor, who might privately take care of his education, till he became of an age proper for asserting his right, and seizing a favourable opportunity of obtaining the crown. This opportunity was furnished by the appearance of a war with France.

The duke of York first made his appearance in Ireland, which still retained its attachments to his family. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, obtained a number of partizans, and wrote letters to the earls of Desmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party. The news soon reaching France, Charles VIII. invited him to repair to Paris, and on his arrival, received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; settled a handsome pension upon him; appointed him magnificent lodgings; and at once, to provide for his dignity and security, allowed him a guard for his person, while all the court paid him the utmost respect. By his person and whole deportment, he supported his character, and France was filled with the accomplishments and misfortunes of the young Plantagenet. The admiration of this prince spread from France into England: Sir John Taylor, Sir George Nevil, and

and above a hundred other gentlemen, came to Paris, in order to offer him their services, and to share his fortune.

At the ratification of the above peace at Estaples, Henry applied to have the youth delivered into his hands; but far from taking a step so mean and dishonourable, Charles would not even oblige himself to deny him residence in his realm, but only engaged to give no favour, encouragement, or assistance, to any of Henry's enemies; and this engagement was reciprocal. Richard, however, being either apprehensive of being seized, or of having notice, that it was proper he should be gone, applied to the duchess of Burgundy, and claimed her protection and assistance. She embraced him as her nephew, and immediately assigned him an equipage suitable to his birth; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; and on all occasions, honoured him with the title of the White Rose of England. The Flemings, the Dutch, and other strangers, shewed him the same respect; and the English, from their commerce with the Low Countries, were daily more and more prepossessed in his favour.

In England, not only the populace, but men of the highest birth and quality, began to turn their eyes towards this new claimant; and some of them entered into a secret conspiracy in his favour. Lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Simon Montfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites, engaged to favour duke Richard's title: but none engaged openly in his favour besides Sir

Robert

Robert Clifford, and Sir William Barley, who went over to Flanders, and were introduced by the dutches of Burgundy to the acquaintance of the young prince, to whom they made a tender of their services. Clifford wrote back to England, that he knew the person of the young duke of York, as well as he knew his own, and that the young man was undoubtedly Richard, duke of York.

Such positive intelligence, from a person of rank and character, was sufficient to put the affair beyond all doubt, and excited the wonder and attention of the most indifferent. The whole nation was held in suspence ; a regular conspiracy was formed against the king, and a correspondence established between the malecontents in England and those in Flanders.

Henry was no sooner informed of these particulars, but, agreeably to his character, he proceeded in counter-working the projects of his enemies. He now first published the account of the murder of the two princes in the Tower, at a time when it was natural for him to hope that it had been true, or at least, that the people would think so. Indeed, as Mr. Walpole observes, it is remarkable, that no enquiry had been made into the murder on Henry the Seventh's accession, the natural time for it, when the passions of men were heated, and the duke of Norfolk, lord Lovell, Katesby, Ratcliffe, and Richard's real abettors or accomplices were attainted and executed ; nor no mention made in the very act of parliament that attainted Richard himself, and no

prosecution of the supposed assassins till now ; nor did Henry ever interest himself to prove that both were dead, till he had great reason to believe that one of them was alive. It was said, that there were but four persons who could speak from knowledge of these murders. Sir James Tirrell, Dighton, and Forest, with the priest of the Tower, who removed their bodies from under the stairs, where they had been buried, to a place unknown. The two last were dead, and the two first being examined, are said to have avowed the fact ; though Dighton, one of the assassins, was suffered to go unpunished wherever he pleased ; and Sir James Tirrell, who had enjoyed Henry's favour, was suffered to live, but was shut up in the Tower ; upon which Mr. Walpole asks,

“ What can we believe, but that Dighton was  
“ some low mercenary wretch, hired to assume  
“ the guilt of a crime he had not committed,  
“ and that Sir James Tirrell never would con-  
“ fess what he had not done, and was there-  
“ fore put out of the way on a fictitious im-  
“ putation ? ”

The king's jealousy had, at first, made him stop the ports of England, and place guards there, as well as on the roads near the sea-coast, to examine all passengers, and to seize all who were suspected. He sent his spies all over Flanders and England, engaging many to pretend, that they had embraced the duke's party ; and to procure the better credit to his spies, had them excommunicated by name at St. Paul's-cross. At the same time he corrupted

rupted the chaplains and confessors of several great men, in order to discover their secrets and inclinations ; and even engaged Clifford, by the hope of pardon and rewards, to betray the secrets committed to him.

By these means Henry not only discovered his secret enemies, but even pretended to have obtained a particular account of his rival, and as it was for his interest to represent him an impostor, he caused his history to be published, the substance of which is as follows :

One Osbeck, or Warbeck, a Jewish convert of Tournay, who had been drawn by some business to London, in the reign of Edward IV. having opportunities of being known to the king ; and obtaining his favour, prevailed with him to stand god-father to his son, to whom he gave the name of Peter, which, after the Flemish manner, was corrupted into Peterkin, or Perkin. It is supposed, that Edward had a secret commerce with Warbeck's wife, and that from thence arose the remarkable resemblance between young Perkin and that monarch. Some years after, Warbeck returned to Tournay, where his son Perkin did not long remain, but was carried by different accidents from place to place. Mean while growing a comely youth, with remarkable genius and capacity, he was represented to the dutchess of Burgundy as a youth perfectly qualified to assume any character, or to act any part. This raising the dutchess's curiosity, she desired to see him ; and on his appearing before her, found that he exceeded her most sanguine expectations.

pectations. She was highly pleased with his graceful air, his courtly address, and the docility and good sense which appeared in his behaviour and conversation. The dutchess of Burgundy resolving that he should personate Richard, duke of York, instructed him in relation to the persons and features of the father, mother, brother, sisters, and others that were nearest to that prince; with all the circumstances that happened fit for the memory of a child, during the space of eleven years, till the death of king Edward; and some of these were of a secret nature. There were also added those passages which happened from the time of Edward's death, till he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in sanctuary, with the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape.

It was, however, impossible that these circumstances should be true; for, as Margaret was married out of England in 1467, seven years before the duke of York was born, and never returned thither, she was incapable of describing her nephew, whom she had never seen, and of instructing this Flemish youth in the particulars of his childhood, and of all the passages relating to his brother and sisters. If it be said, that she had English refugees about her, there must have been many of these who were most intimately connected with the court, if she and they together could compose a tolerable story, that was to comprehend the most minute passages of so many years.

While

While Henry took every step to obtain information of what was plotting in England, he did not neglect to take others for depriving the disaffected of all hopes of foreign succours. He remonstrated to the archduke Philip, on the countenance and protection afforded in his dominions to an infamous impostor, contrary to the treaties subsisting between England and Flanders, and to the mutual amity which had so long been maintained by the subjects of both states: but Margaret had still sufficient influence to get his application rejected, under the pretence, that Philip had nothing to do with the prince's dowager's conduct in the lands of her dowry. Henry, not satisfied with this answer, cut off all commerce with Flanders, recalled the English merchants from thence, and banished the Flemings. Philip retaliated upon him by the like edicts, but Henry was sensible, that the Flemings would not consent to be deprived of the beneficial branch of commerce they carried on with the English, merely to gratify the humours of their sovereign.

The strength of Henry's suspicions, with respect to his own subjects, supplied the defects of that evidence which he received from his spies abroad; and it is attributed chiefly to Sir Robert Clifford's letters, that Fitz-Walter, Thwaites, Montfort, William Daubeney, Thomas Cressenor, Thomas Astwood, and Robert Ratcliffe, were all taken up in one day, and condemned for high treason, and the four

first beheaded \*. Thomas Bagnell, John Scot, John Heth, and John Kennington, being taken out of the sanctuary of St. Martin le Grand, the first was committed to the Tower, and the other three executed at Tyburn ; but William Wormesley, dean of St. Paul's, a celebrated preacher, with some others, who had been accused and examined, were pardoned.

There was still a greater person than any of these, whom Henry resolved to destroy. This was Sir William Stanley, chamberlain of the household, whose former services, great connections and authority in the nation, seemed to secure him from suspicion. Clifford was ordered to come over privately to England, and to throw himself at the king's feet, while he sat at a full council in the Tower of London. He did so ; and craving pardon for his past offences, offered to atone for them by any services in his power. Henry answered, that the best proof he could give of his repentance, was the full confession of his guilt, and the discovery of all his accomplices, however dis-

\* Mr. Walpole observes, that not one of the sufferers is pretended to have recanted ; and adds, " they all died then in the persuasion, that they had engaged in a right cause. When peers, knights of the garter, privy counsellors, suffer death from conviction of a matter of which they were pronounced judges (for which of them but must know their late master's son ?) it would be rash, indeed, in us to affirm, that they laid down their lives for an impostor, and died with a lie in their mouths."

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tinguished by their rank or character. Clifford then mentioned Stanley, who was present, and could not discover more surprize than the artful Henry affected to shew on this occasion. He received the intelligence as entirely false and incredible, that a man, to whom he was in a great measure obliged for his crown, and even for his life; a man, to whom he had endeavoured to express his gratitude by honours and favours, and whose brother, the earl of Derby, was his own father-in-law, should engage against him. Clifford was therefore exhorted to weigh well the consequences of his accusation, the substance of which was drawn from a conversation between him and Sir William, before he went to Flanders, in which Stanley said, that *if he was sure that youth abroad was king Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him.* This being construed to assert the right of king Edward's son, tho' it did not expressly affirm the youth to be that son, was enough for Henry, who was extremely jealous on that point. After six weeks delay, in order to shew that the king was restrained by doubts and scruples, the prisoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and soon after executed: but as Stanley was one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom, he being possessed of above three thousand pounds a year in land, and forty thousand marks in plate and money, the prospect of so rich a forfeiture was thought to be no small motive for Henry's proceeding to extremities against him.

Stanley's fate made a deep impression on the kingdom ; and struck all who were of the duke of York's party with consternation. They found, from Clifford's desertion, that all their secrets were betrayed ; and it appearing, that while Stanley seemed to live in the greatest confidence with the king, he had been continually encompassed by spies, who registered every action in which he was engaged, and every word he spoke, a general disgust took place, and all mutual confidence was destroyed, even among intimate friends. Men were kept in awe by the jealous and severe temper of the tyrant, which, with his reputation for sagacity and penetration, quelled even the very murmurs of sedition ; so that an end was put to all the meetings, conversation, and correspondence of the disaffected. A swarm of libels, however, came out, full of bitter invectives against Henry and some of his council. The authors, indeed, could not be discovered ; but five mean persons, who had been concerned in dispersing them, were caught and executed.

Though this shewed the secret disaffection of the people, Henry continued intent on increasing their terrors, and gratifying his avarice. He daily gave more and more a loose to his rapacious temper, and employed every art to pervert the law, in exacting fines and compositions from the people. By wresting some penal statutes, Sir William Capel, alderman of London, was sentenced to pay the sum of 2743 l. and was obliged to compound for 1615 l. This was the first remarkable case of the

the kind, but it became a precedent, which prepared the way for many others. Indeed, the great secret of the king's administration was the management of these arts of chicanery : for at the same time that he depressed the nobility, he honoured and caressed the lawyers ; and by that means, was enabled to pervert the laws, whenever he pleased, to his own advantage.

The diffidence and terror which universally prevailed, greatly discouraged the duke of York, who, not knowing how long he should be suffered to stay in Flanders, where people already began to complain of their being deprived of their trade with England, he resolved to attempt something before the engagements of his adherents were become obsolete. Having assembled some foreign undisciplined forces, he put to sea on the 3d of July 1495, with the resolution to make a descent in England ; and receiving information, that the king had made a progress to the north, he cast anchor before Deal, in Kent ; but the country was so well prepared to oppose him, that it was imagined, Henry had made a progress into the north with no other view, but to tempt him to land in a country, which he had taken care to secure by a stronger force than he had employed in any other. The troops assumed the appearance of friendship to the duke, invited him to come ashore, in order to command them ; but the wary youth taking notice, of their having more order and regularity in their movements than could be expected in new-levied forces,

wisely refused to entrust himself in their hands; on which the Kentish troops, finding that their stratagem had proved unsuccessful, fell upon those who had landed, killed many of them before they could get back to their ships, and took a hundred and sixty-nine prisoners, whom they sent to London. These were tried and condemned; and no less than a hundred and fifty of them executed by the king's orders. Upon this disappointment, the duke sailed for Cork, in Ireland, where he expected a very different reception.

A parliament was this year summoned in England, and another in Ireland; and in both countries some remarkable laws were passed. It was enacted by the English parliament, that no person, who should, by arms or otherwise, assist the king for the time being, should ever afterwards be attainted for such an instance of obedience, either by course of law or act of parliament. Henry, conscious of his disputed title, evidently promoted this law, in order to encourage his partizans, by securing them against all events; but the contrary practice, which he himself had observed against the adherents of Richard III. gave him reason to apprehend, that in case of a new revolution, his example, rather than his law, would be followed by his enemies. An act was also passed, by which the king was empowered to levy, by course of law, all the sums which the people had agreed to pay by way of benevolence; and thus that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly justified.

In Ireland, Henry's authority appeared to be equally uncontroled. In order to quell the partizans of the house of York, and to reduce the natives to subjection, he sent Sir Edward Poynings thither: on which the Irish, flying to their mountains, woods, and morasses, for some time eluded his efforts; but Poynings summoning a parliament at Dublin, that memorable statute was passed which still bears its name, and by which the authority of the English government in Ireland was established. All the former laws of England were made by this statute of force in Ireland; and no bill was to be introduced into the Irish parliament, unless it had previously received the approbation of the council of England.

On the duke of York's landing in Ireland, Poynings had put the affairs of that island in such a situation, that he met with little success; he therefore sailed to Scotland, and appeared before James IV. who then governed that kingdom, to whom he had been previously recommended both by the king of France, and by Maximilian, king of the Romans. The countenance given to the duke by these princes, engaged the king of Scotland to give him a favourable reception, and to assure him, that he should never repent putting himself into his hands; and so firmly was he persuaded of his being the person whose name he bore, that he gave him in marriage the lady Catharine Gordon, the daughter of the earl of Huntley, a princess of his own blood, distinguished by her virtue, her beauty, and her eminent accomplishments.

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plishments. In 1496 the king of Scotland resolved to make an inroad into England, attended by the duke, in hopes, that his appearance might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. On his entering Northumberland, a manifesto was dispersed in the name of Richard, duke of York, mentioning his natural and lineal right to the crown, and complaining of Henry's usurpation ; his attempts to deprive him of life ; his tyrannical government ; his prostituting his honour ; and his making merchandize of the blood, estates, and fortunes, of the nobles and commons, by feigned wars and a dishonourable peace, merely to fill his own coffers. He charged Henry with the death of Sir William Stanley, Sir Simon Montfort, and other persons of high rank, from hatred and suspicion ; with imposing the intolerable fines which others were obliged to pay to save their lives ; with the unjust and cruel imprisonment of Edward, earl of Warwick ; the marrying of his sisters, the daughters of Edward IV. by compulsion, to persons of mean rank ; his discarding the nobles from his councils, and his daily pillaging the people by his extortions and illegal impositions ; after which he gave assurances of his resolution to govern by the advice of the great lords, to encourage the manufactures and native commodities of the realm ; to promote commerce, and to abolish all illegal impositions and taxes. He also promised rewards to such as should join him.

This declaration had, however, but little effect. Richard had unhappily joined the Scots,

Scots, who were particularly odious to the English ; and the army being chiefly composed of borderers, that were used to plunder the country, made terrible ravages wherever they came. In vain did the young prince complain, in the most moving terms, of that ruinous manner of making war ; in vain did he protest, that he would rather renounce the crown, than purchase it by the desolation of his country : the Scots were too fond of plunder to refrain, and a body of forces advancing against them, they returned home to lay up their booty.

Henry discovered little concern about this insult committed by the Scots. Though his treasury abounded with wealth, his chief care was to draw advantage from it, and make it a pretence for levying impositions on his own subjects ; hence affecting to appear indigent, he borrowed four thousand pounds of the city of London, to supply his pretended distress, till he could get an aid from parliament. The two houses being assembled, he made bitter complaints against the irruption of the Scots for breaking the seven years truce ; the cruel devastations they had committed in the northern counties, and the insults they had offered both to himself and the kingdom. This procured him the expected return ; and they granted him a subsidy, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, a greater sum than had ever been granted on such an occasion, together with two-fifteenths, in order to enable him to carry on the war with Scotland,

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Though Henry found no great difficulty in procuring the vote of parliament for imposing the tax, it was not so easy for him to put it in execution. The people, sensible of his having amassed immense treasures, were ill satisfied with his making use of every slight occasion for levying new impositions. In 1497, when the subsidy began to be collected in Cornwall, the inhabitants, who were a numerous, poor, robust, and brave people, murmured against the tax, occasioned by the Scots having made a sudden inroad, from which they were entirely secure, and which the northern counties had usually repelled. They were encouraged in their dissatisfaction by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, a fellow who, by being loudest in every complaint against the government, had acquired a kind of authority among the people. But none contributed more to blow up the coals of sedition than Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, who had become the oracle of his neighbourhood in law matters, and who assured them, that the subsidy was entirely illegal, notwithstanding its being imposed by parliament; that the northern nobility were bound, by their tenures, to defend the nation against the Scotch, and if they tamely submitted to this new imposition, the avarice of Henry and his ministers would soon render the burthen intolerable. He told them, that the Cornish men must present a petition to the king, seconded by a force sufficient to give it authority; and that, to procure the concurrence of the rest of the kingdom, they must

must take particular care to shew, by their orderly deportment, that they had nothing but the public good in view, and the redress of their grievances.

The multitude, encouraged by these speeches, armed themselves with axes, bills, bows and arrows, and such other weapons as they could easily procure. They then chose Flammock and Joseph for their leaders ; and their number encreasing to sixteen thousand men, they proceeded through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset. At Taunton they killed, in their fury, a busy commissioner of the new subsidy, and from thence proceeded to Wells, where they were joined by the lord Audley, whom they joyfully received as their leader. Elated by their being thus countenanced by so considerable a nobleman, they proceeded on their march, breathing destruction to the ministers and favourites of the king ; particularly to Morton, who was now a cardinal, and Sir Reginald Bray, who were esteemed the most active instruments in all Henry's exactions. Yet during their march committed no disorder or violence.

Flammock had told the rebels, that the inhabitants of Kent, who had never been subdued, and were fond of liberty, would certainly embrace their party ; but they were disappointed ; for the earl of Kent, lord Cobham, and lord Abergavenny, who possessed great authority in that county, easily retained the people in obedience ; whence the Cornish rebels, though they pitched their camp on Black-

Black-heath, and invited all people to join them, could obtain no reinforcements: for the people, notwithstanding their being in general filled with the utmost discontent, were unwilling to engage in so rash and ill-concerted an enterprize.

Henry had already levied an army to oppose the Scots, which, happily for him, was ready to act on the first news of the insurrection. As he did not chuse to leave the northern frontier defenceless, he sent thither the earl of Surrey, who assembled the forces on the borders; but as the Cornish mutineers behaved in an inoffensive manner, and had received no accession of force in their march, or in their incampment, he took post in London, in expectation, that this popular tumult would diminish by delay, and in the mean time, prepared the means of securing a victory.

After Henry had collected all his forces, he divided them into three bodies, and marched out to attack the enemy. The first, which was commanded by the earl of Oxford, and under him by the earls of Suffolk and Essex, were ordered to post themselves behind the hills on which the Cornish men were encamped: the second, which was the most considerable, was placed under the command of lord Daubeney, and ordered to attack the enemy in front. The third the king kept as a body of reserve, and posting himself in St. George's-fields, staid there to secure the city, or to assist the other bodies as occasion served. That the enemy might be put off their guard, a report

was spread, that they would not be attacked till some days after ; and to confirm them in this opinion, the action did not begin till near the evening. Daubeney defeated a detachment of the malecontents that were posted at Deptford-bridge ; and before the main body was prepared to receive him, he had gained the ascent of the hill, and begun the attack with such courage, as had nearly proved fatal to him ; for rushing into the midst of them, he was taken prisoner, but was soon after relieved by his own troops. The malecontents fought with great intrepidity ; but being attacked in the rear by the earl of Oxford, and having neither horse nor artillery, they were soon broken and put to flight, and fifteen hundred or two thousand of them cut in pieces ; and being surrounded on every side by the king's troops, were almost all of them made prisoners. Among these were lord Audley, Flammock and Joseph, the former of whom was beheaded on Tower-hill, and the two latter executed at Tyburn. Joseph comforted himself at the gallows with a preposterous kind of ambition, and boasted, that he should make a figure in history. The rest, being ordinary labourers, were dismissed without farther punishment ; Henry hoping, perhaps, to bury his former cruelties in oblivion, by this instance of his unusual lenity to a multitude of inconsiderable persons, who had neither disputed his title, nor shewn any attachment to the house of York.

The king of Scotland taking advantage of this insurrection, had raised a considerable ar-

my, and laid siege to the castle of Norham, in Northumberland ; but as Fox, bishop of Durham, had well provided the place both with men and ammunition, he made little progress ; and on his receiving advice, that the earl of Surrey was advancing with an army, in order to relieve the place, he raised the siege, and retreated into Scotland ; while Surrey, following him thither, took the castle of Ayton : but instead of proceeding forward to Edinburgh, a treaty of peace was set on foot. Henry, not chusing to make the first advances, employed in this office Peter Hailas, a man of address and learning, who had been sent to him as ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella, in order to negociate the marriage of their daughter, the infant Catharine, with Arthur, prince of Wales. And this gentleman taking a journey into Scotland, offered his mediation between James and Henry, as the minister of a prince, who was in alliance with both kings. Henry first demanded, that the person he called Perkin should be delivered into his hands, to which James replied, that he had promised him protection, and was determined not to betray one who had trusted to his generosity and good faith. He next demanded, that reparation should be made for the ravages committed by the late inroads into England ; to which it was replied, that the spoils were like water spilt upon the ground, impossible to be recovered ; and that the subjects of Henry were better able to bear the loss, than those of the Scots to repair it. It was next proposed, that

in order to adjust all differences between the two nations, the respective kings should have an interview at Newcastle; but James replied, that he meant to treat of a peace, not to go a begging for it. Lest these conferences should be entirely ineffectual, a truce was concluded for some months, when James perceiving, that he should never enjoy a solid peace with Henry while the duke of York remained in Scotland, privately besought him to leave the kingdom.

The duke now sailed from Scotland with four ships, and about a hundred and twenty men on board; and on the 25th of July, 1497, landed at Corke in Ireland; but whatever encouragement he had to expect that he should recruit his forces in that country, he found himself disappointed, and therefore resolved to try the affections of the people in Cornwall. His correspondents in England had by letters and messengers represented to him, that these people were not so much depressed at their late defeat, as exasperated at levying the late excessive tax, which still went on. Those who had been taken at Blackheath, and had ransomed themselves for a shilling or two a-piece, had told their neighbours, when they got home, that Henry did well to pardon them, as he knew that, if he hanged all that were of their mind, he should leave himself very few subjects in England. In hopes of their espousing his cause, the duke landed at Whitsand bay, on the 7th of September; and advancing to Bodmin, published a manifesto, little different from

the former ; but assumed, for the first time, the title of Richard IV. king of England. Having mustered three thousand men, he marched to Exeter ; and being in want of artillery and ammunition, attempted to take that city by scaling the walls, and setting fire to one of the gates ; but his men being repulsed, and the earl of Devon, with several gentlemen of the country, throwing themselves into the town, he raised the siege, and marched to Taunton.

Henry, on being informed that he had landed in England, expressed great joy, and eagerly prepared to attack him, in hopes of being at last able to put an end to those fears and anxieties which had disturbed his rest for several years. All his courtiers being sensible, that their shewing their activity on this occasion would be highly acceptable to the king, great numbers of them strove who should best merit his favour ; and having joined Henry with their followers, he advanced with a powerful army into the neighbourhood of Taunton. The young claimant had now about six thousand men, but could not depend upon any of them, except the three thousand whom he brought from Cornwall, and who vowed to stand by him to the last drop of their blood : but not half of them being armed, he despaired of success, and secretly withdrew in the night, with sixty horse, to the sanctuary of Beaulieu. His men, the next morning, either submitted or dispersed ; and several of them were put to death at Exeter. A party of cavalry was then sent to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, where the duke had

had left lady Catharine Gordon, his wife. She was found there ; and it being unknown whether she was not with child, Henry sent her to his queen, in whose train she remained for some time, greatly admired for her exquisite beauty. Henry now took advantage of this and the former insurrection, to raise money, by appointing commissioners to enquire after all persons of substance, who had in any manner assisted or favoured the insurgents in their march or flight ; and by this means he raised vast sums by fines.

The duke of York was pursued by the lord Daubeney, with a party of five hundred horse to Beaulieu, and kept such a strict guard round the sanctuary, that there was no possibility of his escaping. Henry was desirous of taking him alive, hoping that he should be able to persuade the world that he was an impostor. Promises of life and pardon were offered him, to induce him to leave the sanctuary, when being destitute of all hopes, and apprehending that force would be employed if he did not consent to these conditions, he came out, and was sent under a guard to London ; but in passing through that city to the Tower, was exposed to all the insults of a brutal mob, set on by some of the courtiers. Henry, who saw Lambert Simnel every day, it seems, could not bear the presence of this youth ; and therefore, to gratify his curiosity, it was contrived that he should see him out of a window of his palace in Westminster, whither the duke was brought and closely confined, till being in fear of his life, he made his escape to the monastery of

Shene, and prevailed on the prior to intercede in his favour. Being taken from thence to the Tower, a confession was said to be extorted from him by tortures, not in relation to his correspondence, but the genealogy of his pretended parents; the manner in which he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the English language, and other particulars; a confused account of which, filled with absurdities and contradictions, was published.

Henry now resolved to dispatch every body whom the friends of the house of York could think of setting up to dispute the crown with him; and at once to get rid both of the duke of York, and Edward, earl of Warwick. This last prince had, for no crime, been kept a close prisoner in the Tower, from the time of his uncle Richard's death, and had all that time been debarred of air and exercise, cut off from all conversation, and from the sight of every friend. These two prisoners were confined in different apartments, and had no means of corresponding with each other; but innocence cannot save the man whom a tyrant is resolved to condemn. It was pretended, that they corresponded by means of the warders and servants employed to guard them, that they had agreed, after having murdered Sir John Digby, the governor, to seize the keys, get out of the Tower, and set up the duke of York for king. Absurd and ridiculous as this accusation was, it was to be the means of their death. To prepare the people for this act of cruelty towards the earl, by shewing how dangerous his life was to the government, a friar in Kent produced a

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young fellow, named Ralph Wilford, who was to personate him, and in a public sermon told the audience, that he was the true earl of Warwick. This occasioned their both being immediately seized, and Ralph was executed, though the life of the friar was saved. But two of Sir John Digby's servants, to whom the two prisoners were entrusted, after giving their evidence against them, were executed, to prevent their telling tales. The duke of York was condemned on the 16th of November, 1499, at Westminster, and that day sevennight, the poor young man was forced to read at his execution his pretended confession; doubtless from the fear of his suffering a more cruel death than hanging. The inconsistencies in that confession are fully exposed by Mr. Walpole, who adds that, " as Henry could put together no more plausible an account, commiseration will shed a tear over a hapless youth, sacrificed to the fury and jealousy of an usurper, and, in all probability, the victim of a tyrant; who has made the world believe, that the duke of York, executed by his own orders, had been previously murdered by his predecessor."

With respect to this prince, whoever considers with the least attention, says Carte, will scarce think it possible, for a youth of low birth, at twenty years of age, and a foreigner, to personate a deceased prince, whom he never knew; to impose on a whole nation, to which he was an utter stranger; and to attempt to drive a jealous, politic, vigilant and powerful monarch

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from his dominions. The duke's not succeeding in this last point, may be easily accounted for, from the want of a great man in England to head and unite the favourers of his cause ; and his being unable to obtain such assistance from foreign powers, as to enable him to make a descent with a force, sufficient to encourage the English to repair to his standard ; from his being destitute of money, and every other means necessary to effect so great an enterprize ; from the arts used by Henry, who employed the wealth of the nation in corrupting his confidants, and in maintaining an infinite number of spies and emissaries, to create an universal diffidence in the friends of the house of York, and to subject the lives and fortunes of all whom the king suspected or dreaded, to his arbitrary will. In other respects, it is impossible to account for the success of this youth, without considering him as the true Richard, duke of York, whose age agreed with his own, and whom he perfectly resembled in his features, and in his person ; in his noble air, and his princely behaviour ; in his speaking English like his native tongue ; his knowing all the circumstances that had passed in that prince's youth, and in his whole conversation. Richard, duke of York, had lived eleven years in his father's court, and was known and conversed with, not only by the officers and servants of the household, but by most of the nobility of the kingdom. Yet the nobility, and the chaplains of his father Edward IV. who saw and freely conversed with this youth, unanimously

mously agreed in pronouncing and maintaining that he was the true Richard, the son of Edward IV. Maximilian and Charles VIII. even while at peace with Henry, recommended him as the true duke of York to James IV. king of Scotland ; and that prince not only received and treated him as such, but as an infallible mark of his respect and friendship, gave him one of his near relations in marriage. Every body abroad were persuaded of this truth ; and it is highly probable, that Henry VII. himself believed that the person, to whom he gave the name of Perkin, was really Richard Plantagenet. This may be inferred from the general tenor of his conduct ; for when the partizans of the house of York had contributed to place him on the throne, from what other reason could he entertain such an aversion to the title of that house, as to make it his continual busines to repress all its friends, unless he was satisfied that a prince, who was the heir, was still living ? What other just ground for the anxiety and fears which, all authors maintain, broke his rest for seven years together, while the person he called Perkins, was asserting his title ? What other motive could induce him to strip queen Elizabeth, his wife's mother, of all her possessions ; to lock her up from human conversation, in a convent of men, and to confine her there, in the most extreme penury and affliction, till her death, but the fear of her revealing the secret of her son Richard's escape from the Tower, and his being still alive. It was certainly his interest to represent this son,

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whenever he appeared, as an impostor ; and he had no other plea, by which he could oppose his title to the crown ; and this might have been effectually done, by proving him to have been murdered in the Tower by his uncle, at the time when all who were said to be concerned in that crime, were alive, and either enjoyed Henry's favour and trust, or walked at liberty under the protection of his government, without being called to an account, or discountenanced for so horrible a parricide.

The unhappy earl of Warwick, the next male heir to the crown, was brought to his trial on the twenty-first of the same month, and being persuaded, by an assurance of pardon, a detestable artifice, to plead guilty, was condemned, and beheaded on the Thursday following, on Tower-hill.

The act of tyranny by which Warwick, the last remaining male of the line of Plantaganet, was destroyed, filled the people, who had long pitied that unhappy prince, with discontent. He had long been denied all the privileges of his high birth, and had been cut off from the common benefits of nature, without ever having been guilty of any action that could justify his being deprived of liberty ; and they now saw him deprived of life itself, under the pretence of his having attempted to shake off the oppression under which he unjustly laboured. In vain did Henry endeavour to alleviate the odium of these crimes, by asserting that Ferdinand of Arragon, scrupled to give his daughter Catharine in marriage to his eldest son Arthur,

thur, while there remained any male descendent of the house of York : the indignation of the people was encreased, by their seeing law, justice and humanity sacrificed to the jealous politics of a tyrant.

However, Henry's steady severity and watchful policy, put such a check on the discontents of the people, that his government remained firm and unshaken ; and this circumstance procured him great respect from foreign princes. The king going to Calais, the archduke Philip desired to have an interview with him, and it was agreed that they should meet near that city. On approaching the king, Philip hasted to alight from his horse, and even offered to hold Henry's stirrup, but he would not permit him. He gave the king the names of father, patron, and protector ; expressing, by his whole behaviour, a strong desire of conciliating the friendship of England. The duke of Orleans, who had succeeded to the throne of France, under the name of Lewis XII. had invaded Italy, and subdued the dutchy of Milan. This raised the jealousy of Maximilian, Philip's father, and of Ferdinand, his father-in-law. By their advice, the young prince strove, by every art, to obtain the friendship of Henry, whom they considered as the chief counterpoise to the power of France. However, no particular plan of alliance appears to have been concerted in the interview between these two princes ; and nothing passed but general professions of friendship and esteem.

Pope Alexander VI. was unwilling to neglect the friendship of a prince, whose reputation was thus widely extended. In the year 1500, he dispatched a nuncio to England, who exhorted Henry to take part in a grand alliance projected for the recovery of the Holy Land, and to lead his forces in person against the infidels. The general enthusiasm which had animated Europe to engage in crusades, was now subsided ; but it was still esteemed a decent kind of duty, to shew a pretended zeal for those pious enterprizes. Henry expressed his concern at the distance of his situation, which rendered his exposing his person in defence of the Christian cause extremely inconvenient ; yet promised, that rather than the pope should go to the holy war unaccompanied by any sovereign prince, he would overlook every other consideration, and readily attend him. But only insisted, as a necessary condition, that the differences amongst the Christian princes should be previously adjusted ; and that, for his retreat and security, there should be configned to him some of the sea-port towns of Italy. From this answer, it was easy to infer that Henry had determined not to interfere in a war with the Turks ; but a great name alone being sometimes of service, the knights of Rhodes chose him for the protector of their order.

Henry set the most value on his alliance with Ferdinand of Arragon, whose character nearly resembled his own ; both were full of craft, intrigue and design ; and tho' this was a slender foundation for friendship and confidence, where there

there is the least opposition of interest, yet such was their situation, that no jealousy ever arose between them. On the twelfth of November, 1501, Henry had the satisfaction of compleat-ing a marriage, which, during the course of seven years, had been negotiating between Arthur, prince of Wales, and the infanta Catharine, the fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella: the prince being near sixteen years of age, and the infanta eighteen. But a few months after, to the concern of the whole nation, Arthur fell sick and died. Henry being, however, still desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and averse to restoring Catharine's dowry, which amounted to the sum of two hundred thousand ducats, he obliged Henry, his second son, who was now created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta. This prince, who was but twelve years of age, made all the opposition in his power; but the king persisting steadily in his resolution, a dispensation from the pope was obtained for his marrying his brother's widow, and the ceremony was accordingly concluded. This event was at length attended with consequences of the utmost importance.

Another marriage was soon after celebrated, which in the next age produced very great events: this was the marriage of the king's eldest daughter, Margaret, to James, king of Scotland. By this alliance, Henry hoped to remove every source of discord between the two kingdoms. When the English council was deliberating upon it, some objected, that by this alliance, England might fall under the domi-

nion of Scotland : " No, replied the king, " Scotland, in that case, will only become an " accession to England."

In the midst of these prosperous events, Henry met with a domestic calamity, which made a less impression upon him than it ought to have done : his queen died in child-bed on the 11th of February 1503, and the infant did not long survive her. This princess was the favourite of the nation ; and the general affection and esteem entertained for her, was increased by the harsh treatment she undeservedly received from the king.

Henry having ensured his tranquility by his close connections with Scotland and Spain, gave full scope to his propensity to avarice, which had always been his ruling passion ; and being now encreased by age, broke through all the restraints of justice and humanity. He had two ministers, Empson and Dudley, who were perfectly qualified to execute all his rapacious and tyrannical schemes, and with the most shameless violations of equity, to prey on his defenceless people. These base instruments of cruel oppression were lawyers, the first a man of a mean birth, of an unrelenting temper, and of brutal manners ; the second equally severe, inflexible, and unjust, but better born, and with a better education. These wretches were qualified, by their knowledge of the law, to oppress the innocent, by perverting the forms of justice ; and were supported in all their crimes, with the formidable

ble authority of the mercenary and rapacious tyrant.

They, at first, so far observed the appearance of law, as to indict those whom they had marked out for oppression ; upon which those unhappy persons were thrown into prison, but never brought to a trial ; and, at last, before they could recover their liberty, were obliged to pay heavy fines and ransoms, which were termed compositions and mitigations. At length no regard was paid even to the appearance of law : the two ministers issued their precepts to attach men, and summon them to appear before themselves and some others, at their own houses, where arbitrary decrees were issued in a summary manner, without trial or jury, both in pleas of the crown, and in controversies between private parties. Whenever juries were summoned, they were not only brow-beaten by these vile oppressors, but if they presumed to give sentence contrary to the inclination of the ministers, they were fined, imprisoned, and punished. As the feudal law still prevailed, it was made the means of oppression ; for after the king's wards came of age, they were obliged to pay exorbitant fines, before they were allowed to obtain the possession of their lands. People were harrassed on the most trivial pretences, with informations of intrusion. On an outlawry being issued against any man in a personal action, he was obliged to pay a great sum before he was allowed to purchase his charter of pardon ; and if he refused to agree to the composition demanded,

he forfeited his goods. Even one half of the value of people's lands and rents was, without the least colour of law, seized during two years, as a penalty in case of outlawry. The penal statutes were employed by these ministers as the chief means of oppression ; and these, without respect to persons, rank, quantity, or services, were rigidly put in execution. In every part of the kingdom, spies, informers, and inquisitors, were encouraged and rewarded ; nor was there any difference made, whether the statute was beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete, possible or impossible to be put in execution. Amassing money by every means, and bringing every one under the lash of authority, was the sole end of this rapacious tyrant and his ministers.

These arbitrary and iniquitous proceedings destroyed all security in private property ; and every where filled the minds of the people with fear and diffidence. The ancient privileges, which secured them from all taxation that was not imposed upon them by their own consent in parliament, were entirely abolished, and they reduced to the rank of abject slaves. In vain did they look for protection, even from the parliament, that assembly was so overawed, that during the height of Henry's oppression, the commons chose Dudley their speaker, though he was the chief instrument of his rapacious conduct. And notwithstanding the king being known to be immensely rich, and his having neither wars nor any expensive enterprize in view, they gratified his avarice,

avarice, by granting him the subsidy he demanded ; yet so insatiable was this prince, that he levied a new benevolence the next year, and continued that arbitrary and oppressive method of taxation. By these arts of accumulating wealth, added to his strict frugality, he is said to have obtained, in ready money, the vast sum of one million, eight hundred thousand pounds \*.

While Henry was thus plundering his oppressed people, Isabella, queen of Castile, died ; an event by which it was foreseen, that the fortunes of Ferdinand, the husband, would be greatly affected. Henry, attentive to the fate of his ally, and watchful, lest so important an event should have an influence on the general system of Europe, considered the resemblance there was between Ferdinand's situation and his own. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand, and Isabella, was espoused to the archduke Philip ; and being, in her mother's right, heiress of Castile, might dispute with Ferdinand the administration of that kingdom. Henry was sensible, that notwithstanding his own pretensions by the house of Lancaster, the greatest part of his subjects was convinced of his wife's superior title ; and therefore dreaded,

\* During this reign, a pound of silver was divided into thirty-seven shillings and six-pence, whence Henry's treasure amounted to near three millions of our present money. Besides, commodities were three times cheaper, and all the other states of Europe were very poor, in comparison with what they are at present.

lest his eldest son Henry, prince of Wales, should be tempted, by his ambition, to lay claim to the crown. By his being incessantly attentive to depress the partizans of the house of York, he had the more closely united them into one party, while his oppressive government had rendered every one his enemy; and possessing no independent force like Ferdinand, he dreaded, lest his situation should prove more precarious. Both Ferdinand and Henry had become unpopular, by their exactions; and the states of Castile evidently shewed their resolution to prefer the titles of Philip and Joan. The archduke, now king of Castile, embarked with his consort for Spain, in order to take advantage of these favourable dispositions, during the winter season; but a violent tempest in the channel obliged him to take shelter in Weymouth harbour. Sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of Dorsetshire, assembled some forces, on his hearing of a fleet upon the coast; and being joined by Sir John Cary, who was also at the head of some troops, he came to that town. Finding that Philip was come on shore, in order to be recovered from his sickness and fatigue, he invited him to his house, and instantly dispatched a messenger to court with the news of this important event. The king immediately sent the earl of Arundel with his compliments to Philip on his arrival in his kingdom, and to let him know, that he intended to pay him a visit, and to give him a suitable reception. Philip being now sensible that he could not depart without Henry's consent

consent, determined to anticipate his visit, and to have an interview with him at Windsor. He was received there with all possible magnificence, and was treated by Henry with the utmost seeming cordiality; though he resolved to draw some advantage from his royal guest's having paid him this involuntary visit.

Some years before, Edward de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV. had, in a sudden fit of passion, killed a man, for which he had been obliged to apply to the king for a pardon. This had been granted; but as Henry had little indulgence to those who were connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear, and plead his pardon in open court. Suffolk resenting this affront, had fled into Flanders, and sought for protection from his aunt, the dutchess of Burgundy; but the king promising him forgiveness, he returned to England, and obtained a new pardon. Yet being soon after uneasy, on account of the debts he had contracted by his great expences at prince Arthur's wedding, he again retired into Flanders. Henry, who was well acquainted with the general discontent, occasioned by his administration, directed Sir Robert Carlson, governor of the castle of Hammes, to insinuate himself into Suffolk's confidence, and by secret informations, conveyed by that treacherous friend, Henry seized William Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who had been married to the lady Catharine, the queen's sister; William de la Pole, the earl of Suffolk's brother, Sir James Windham, Sir James Tirrell, with some

some persons of inferior rank, who were committed to prison. Lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green were likewise apprehended, but was soon after released. William de la Pole was for a long time detained in confinement, and the earl of Devonshire did not recover his liberty till the next reign; but Sir James Windham and Sir James Tirrell, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed. Notwithstanding these discoveries and executions, Curson had still the art to keep up his credit with the earl of Suffolk; and Henry, to remove all suspicion, had caused him to be excommunicated with Suffolk, for this pretended rebellion. But the insidious traitor had no sooner performed all the services expected from him, than deserting the earl, he came to England, and was received by the king with unusual marks of favour and confidence. Suffolk, astonished at the baseness of this perfidy, went into France, then into Germany, and at last into the Netherlands, where he was protected by Philip.

Henry did not neglect to complain to his royal guest of the reception given to Suffolk in his dominions, on which the king of Castile answered, "I really thought your greatness and felicity had set you far above apprehensions from a person of so little consequence; but to satisfy you, I will banish him out of my dominions." "I expect," said the king, that you will carry your complaisance farther, and put Suffolk into my hands, where alone I can depend upon his sub-

“ submission and obedience.” “ That, re-  
“ turned Philip, would reflect upon you as  
“ well as myself. You’ll be thought to have  
“ used me as a prisoner.” “ Then, returned  
“ the king, the matter is at an end; for I  
“ will take that dishonour upon me, and so  
“ your honour is saved.” The king of Cas-  
tile, finding himself under the necessity of  
complying, made Henry first promise to spare  
Suffolk’s life, and then invited that nobleman  
to return to England, giving him hopes, that  
the king would pardon him on his intercession.  
Upon Suffolk’s appearance he was sent to the  
Tower; and the king of Castile, after sign-  
ing a treaty of commerce between England  
and Castile, was at last allowed to depart, after  
he had stay’d in England three months. Up-  
on his landing in Spain, he was received by  
the Castilians with great joy, and put in pos-  
session of the throne. But he dying soon after,  
and Joan, his widow, falling into a deep me-  
lancholy, Ferdinand again re-ascended the  
throne, and governed the whole Spanish mo-  
narchy till his death.

Henry did not survive these transactions a-  
bove two years, during which he contracted  
his second daughter Mary, to Charles, the  
son of Philip of Castile. He had also some  
thoughts of being married himself; first to the  
queen dowager of Naples, and afterwards to  
the dutchess dowager of Savoy, the daughter  
of Maximilian, and the sister of Philip. But  
an end was put to all such thoughts by his de-  
clining health; on which he began to review  
his

his past conduct, and extend his views to another world, where his crimes presented before him the most dismal prospect. To alleviate the terrors of his mind, he strove to atone for them, by distributing alms, and founding religious houses; and to bribe his offended judge, by sacrificing a part of his ill-gotten treasures. Yet his remorse was not sufficient to make him stop the rapacious hands of those oppressors, Empson and Dudley; for Sir William Capel was again fined two thousand pounds upon a most frivolous offence; and was committed to the Tower for presuming to murmur against this injustice. Mr. Harris, an alderman of London, was indicted, and died of vexation before his trial came on. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, the mayor, and his two sheriffs, were condemned in heavy fines, and sent to prison till they were paid. All these oppressions were countenanced by Henry, till the nearer approaches of death struck him with new terrors; when he ordered, by a general clause in his will, that all who had been injured by him, should receive restitution; an article impossible to be performed. He died of a consumption at his favourite palace of Richmond, on the twenty-second of April 1509, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

Henry had, by his wife Elizabeth, four sons and as many daughters; but none of his sons survived him, except his second son Henry, who was born on the twenty-eighth of June 1491, and succeeded to the throne under the name

name of Henry VIII. The daughters who were living at his death were, Margaret, who was born on the twenty-ninth of November 1489, and was married to James IV. king of Scotland; and Mary, born in the year 1498, and married first to Lewis XII. king of France, and after his decease, to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

Henry was of the middle size, thin and slender; but possessed great strength. The features of his face would have been agreeable, had they not been clouded, and contracted by an air of meanness and reserve. His countenance, which was naturally grave, severe and pensive, would sometimes clear up, when it was for his advantage to be affable; and none was more engaging than he, when he endeavoured to persuade. He did not want sagacity and penetration; but had a bad heart and a low mind, he being capable of any crime, and of any meanness that he thought would turn to his advantage. His avarice was insatiable; and never was prince so entirely destitute of good-nature, honour, generosity, and magnanimity. He was haughty and wilful, and so reserved, that he conversed with no body as a friend and companion. There was nothing that he so much affected, as the appearance of wisdom; indeed he always took his measures with great precaution and secrecy, and had sufficient pretensions to a low cunning, that was very different from true wisdom. He was cool, reserved, distrustful, false, tricking,

tricking, and unrestrained by any principle of honour, virtue, and conscience; and was perhaps the most sordid prince that ever filled a throne.

Henry is extolled for being devout, for hearing two or three masses a day, for treating the clergy with respect, for building a fine chapel at Westminster-abbey, for founding an hospital at the Savoy, and endowing three convents of the Observantines, with the revenues of three others of the Franciscans; but he sacrificed every thing to politics; was entirely destitute of humanity; and prostituted the power of the church, by getting his spies and emissaries excommunicated, by bell, book, and candle, merely to procure them credit, where they were sent to betray. He loved peace, because war might endanger his throne. Nothing could have rendered him considerable, but the jealousy which Edward the Fourth, after the death of the great earl of Warwick, expressed of him: this did him great service, for producing a kind of honourable restraint, it kept him from being known for what he really was, and caused him to be pitied. But whatever favourable opinions had been entertained of him before he obtained the crown, he soon destroyed them, and he was found the greatest tyrant that ever swayed the sceptre of England. Magna Charta was violated in every article, and the liberty and property of the people sacrificed, to gratify his avarice and jealousy. He hated his subjects, and endeavoured to keep them low; he trafficked with

their

their blood and treasure ; pretended wars to obtain supplies from parliament, and to sell a peace to the enemy ; he loaded them with taxes, and seized all opportunities of ruining them by excessive fines. Hence, in their turn, they hated him ; for they felt their substance exhausted, and the freedom of conversation taken away by the infinite swarms of his spies and informers. Avarice, the meanest of vices, stifled in his mind all other sentiments ; he basked in the spoils of his ruined subjects, and rejoiced in amassing an immense treasure, most of which he concealed in secret places, under his own key, and left it behind him to be squandered away by his son and successor. Some advantages were, however, derived from his jealousies and his avarice ; since, from the first, he was led to depress the nobility, and abolish those feudal tenures, which rendered them equally formidable to the prince and the people ; and his avarice prompted him to give encouragement to industry and trade ; because it improved his customs and enriched his subjects, whom he could afterwards pillage at discretion.

#### MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

The most important law enacted during the reign of Henry VII. with respect to its consequences, was that, by which the nobility and gentry obtained a power of alienating their estates, by means of which, added to the beginnings of luxury, the great fortunes of the barons became gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons encreated. From the

progress of the arts, a different taste was diffused throughout the nation. The nobility, instead of emulating with each other in the number and bravery of their retainers, strove to excel in the splendor and elegance of their equipages, houses, and tables ; and the common people, being no longer maintained by their superiors in a state of idleness, were obliged to exert their industry, and to become useful both to themselves and to others.

In this reign, laws were made against the exportation of money, bullion, and plate ; and so strictly was this law executed, that the foreign merchants, who imported commodities into the kingdom, were obliged to expend all the money acquired by their sales in English commodities, to prevent the specie being carried in a clandestine manner out of the kingdom. The exportation of horses was prohibited ; and in order to promote archery, no bows were to be sold at a higher price than six shillings and four-pence of our present money.

During this reign, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, in 1492, sailed from Cadiz, on the voyage by which he discovered America ; and a few years after Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies : events that were attended with important consequences, with respect to all the nations of Europe. Commerce and navigation being thus enlarged, industry and the arts were every where encreased ; the nobles spent their fortunes in expensive pleasures ; and men of inferior

ferior rank not only acquired a share in the landed property, but created a property of a new species in stocks, commodities, and credit.

It was only by accident that Henry VII. had not a share in the great naval discoveries by which that age was distinguished. Christopher Columbus, after he had several times been repulsed by the court of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain to Henry his great design, and to obtain his assistance in its execution. The king invited Christopher to come to England; but his brother being taken by pirates, was detained in the voyage; and in the mean while Christopher having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small squadron, and happily executed his enterprize. Henry, thus disappointed, fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian settled in Bristol, and, in 1498, that mariner sailed to the westward in search of new discoveries. Cabot reached the continent of America in about the sixteenth degree of north latitude; and sailing southwards along the coast, discovered Newfoundland and other countries, but returned to England without making any settlement. A like attempt was made by Elliot, and other merchants of Bristol in 1502. Henry expended fourteen thousand pounds in building a ship, called the Great Harry, which was properly the first man of war; since, before this time, when the king wanted a fleet, he was obliged to hire or press ships from the merchants.

These were not the only great events by which the age was distinguished. In 1453 Constantinople being taken by the Turks, the Greeks fled from thence, took shelter in Italy, and brought with them their language, with a refined taste in poetry and eloquence, in painting and architecture: the purity of the Latin tongue revived, and an esteem for literature gradually spread through all the nations of Europe. The art of printing, which had been brought to England and other countries from Germany, where it was invented, greatly facilitated the progress of all these improvements, and diffused a new light over the Christian world. The invention of gun-powder had, for some time, changed the whole art of war. Thus a general revolution took place in human affairs, and people gradually attained that situation, with respect to arts, sciences, commerce, and other great improvements of different kinds, in which they have ever since persevered, and even carried them nearer to perfection.

## C H A P. II

## H E N R Y VIII.

*His Popularity, and Love of Pleasure. His Ministry. The Punishment of Empson and Dudley. His Marriage to Catharine. Foreign Affairs. An Expedition to Fontarabia. A Character of Wolsey, his Prime Minister. An Engagement at Sea. Invasion of France. The Battle of Spurs, and that of Flouden. A Peace with France. Wolsey's Conduct. He is appointed Legate, and exercises that Office in a very extraordinary Manner. Charles V. King of Spain, chosen Emperor. He arrives in England. An Interview near Calais between Henry and Francis I. Henry's Mediation between him and the Emperor. Henry obtains the Title of Defender of the Faith. A War with France, and afterwards with Scotland. Henry's Arbitrary Proceedings. The Invasion of France and Italy. The Battle of Pavia, in which Francis is taken Prisoner. He recovers his Liberty. A League between England and France. Scruples relating to Henry's Marriage. An Account of Anna Boleyn. Henry applies to the Pope for a Divorce. The Proceedings upon it. The commencement of the Reformation in England. Foreign Affairs. Sir Thomas More made Chancellor.*

cellor. *An Account of the Maid of Kent.* *The Execution of Fisher and More.* *The King excommunicated.* *The Death of Queen Catharine.* *The Suppression of Religious Houses.* *The Disgrace and Execution of Queen Anne.* *Insurrections.* *The King marries, and dislikes Anne of Cleves.* *The Fall and Execution of Cromwell.* *The King, on being divorced, marries Catharine Howard.* *Ecclesiastical Affairs.* *A War with Scotland, and the Victory at Solway.* *A Campaign in France.* *A Peace with France and Scotland.* *Persecutions.* *The Execution of the Earl of Surrey,* and the *Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk.* *Henry's Death and Character.* *Miscellaneous Incidents.*

THE people expressed their joy at the death of Henry VII. as publickly as was consistent with decency; and an unfeigned satisfaction universally appeared on Henry the Eighth's accession and coronation. Instead of a jealous, severe, and avaritious sovereign, there succeeded to the throne a young prince of eighteen years of age, who gave promising hopes of his future conduct. He had a handsome ruddy countenance, a lively air, great vigour of body, in all his demeanour was the appearance of spirit and activity; and he was well skilled in every manly exercise. His father, with a view to detach him from the consideration of state affairs, had hitherto engaged him in the pursuits of literature; and he had made a considerable progress in the languages, theology,

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theology, and Aristotle's philosophy, which gave the people a high opinion of his parts and abilities. Even the passionate vehemence and impatience which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were now only considered as the faults of youth, that would be corrected by time; and the houses of York and Lancaster being fully united in his person, people expected from a prince obnoxious to no party, that impartial administration which had been long unknown.

The beginning of his reign encouraged these favourable prepossessions. His grand-mother, the countess of Richmond and Derby, being still living, and celebrated for her virtue and prudence; he, in the establishment of his new council, wisely shewed a great deference to her opinion. The members were Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor; the earl of Shrewsbury, steward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovell, constable of the Tower, and master of the wards; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Wyat; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Sir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney, and Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws. These had, for a long time, been accustomed to business under the late king, and were less unpopular than any other of his ministers.

The chief competitors for favour and authority under the young king were Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy-seal, who had enjoyed great credit during the whole preceding reign, and had obtained such a habit

bit of frugality and caution, that he could not forbear remonstrating against the schemes of expence and dissipation, into which Henry was plunged by his youth and his passions; and the earl of Surrey, who was treasurer, and a more dextrous courtier; for though few had a greater share in the frugal politics of the late king, he instantly conformed himself to the humour of his new master, and became the most forward in gratifying the passions of the young monarch. By this means he ingratiated himself with Henry; and, as well as the other courtiers, engaged his master in such a course of idleness and play, as rendered him negligent of affairs, and willing to entrust the government to his ministers. Thus, by Henry's expences, the treasures amassed by his father, were gradually dissipated: parties of pleasure succeeded each other: carousals, tilts, and tournaments were exhibited with the utmost magnificence; and as the court was permitted, by the present tranquility of the public, to seek gratification in every amusement, little attention was paid to serious business. In the intervals between these diversions, the king chiefly applied himself to music and literature, his favourite pursuits; and made such proficiency in the former, as to compose some pieces of church-music, which were sung in his chapel.

That frank and careless disposition which led the king to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him unwilling to protect the instruments employed by that prince in his

extortions. The council having issued, in his name, a proclamation to encourage complaints, the rage of the populace was let loose on all the informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny: they were imprisoned, sentenced to the pillory, and most of them killed by the violence of the people. The council summoned Empson and Dudley, who were most exposed to the hatred of the public, to appear before them, in order to answer for their conduct. Empson, in apologizing for himself and his associate, told the council, that they were so far from deserving censure, that the clamours of their enemies themselves were founded on actions, which seemed rather to merit reward: that they were accused of the crime of strictly executing laws, established by general consent, though they had acted in obedience to the king, to whom the constitution had entrusted the administration of justice: that it was not for them, who were instruments in the king's hands, to determine what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient or pernicious, since they were all equally valid, while the legislature permitted them to remain unrepealed: that a licentious populace would naturally murmur against the restraints of authority; but the glory of all wise states ever consisted in the just distribution of rewards and punishments, in annexing the former to the observance and enforcement of the laws, and the latter to their violation; and that nothing could be expected but the subversion of all government, where the judges were consigned over

over to the mercy of the criminals, and the rulers to that of their subjects. Empson and Dudley were, notwithstanding this defence, sent to the Tower, and a little time after were brought to their trial. The strict execution of obsolete laws could never, in a court of judicature, be imputed to them as a crime; and it is probable, that where they had exercised arbitrary authority, the king, as they had acted by his father's secret commands, was unwilling to have their conduct too severely scrutinized. Therefore, in order to gratify the people with their punishment, they were charged with the improbable crime of having entered into a conspiracy against the late king, whom they were to put to death, and then to seize, by force, on the administration of the government. Of this ridiculous and absurd accusation they were found guilty by the jury, who were entirely influenced by the popular prejudices; and their verdict being afterwards confirmed by a bull of attainder in parliament, they were accordingly executed.

Immediately after Henry's accession to the throne, he deliberated on the celebration of his marriage with the infanta Catharine, to whom he had been contracted during the life of his father. The chief objections urged against his espousing her, were her former marriage with his brother, and the inequality of their years: on the other hand, the affection she bore to the king, with her virtue, modesty, and sweetness of temper, were insisted on; as well as the advantage of cementing a close alliance with Spain;

Spain; the necessity of finding some confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the large dowry to which she was entitled, as princeps of Wales, and the expediency of fulfilling the late king's engagements; and these considerations determined the council, contrary to the primate's opinion, to advise Henry to celebrate the marriage, which was accordingly done; after which the coronation was performed on the 24th of June 1509, immediately after the death of Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby, the king's grandmother.

Henry's domestic administration was rendered easy by his popularity, his undisputed title to the throne, his treasures, and the tranquility of his subjects. Italy still continued to be the center of all the wars and negotiations of the European princes. All parties courted Henry's alliance, while he was engaged by no immediate interest to take part with any. Several great monarchies were established, and none so far surpassed the rest, as to give any pretence for jealousy; and their internal force, by balancing each other, might long have maintained a general tranquility, had not the active and enterprizing spirit of that ambitious pontiff Julius II. excited among them the flames of war. By his intrigues, a league had been formed at Cambray, between Lewis, Maximilian, Ferdinand, and himself, in order to overwhelm the commonwealth of Venice by their united arms; and Henry, though he had

not

not the least motive for it, allowed his name to be inserted in the confederacy.

Julius had no sooner humbled the republic of Venice, than he was ambitious of expelling all foreigners, whom he termed barbarians, from Italy. He resolved to make the tempest fall first upon Lewis, and seeking for the foundation of a quarrel with that monarch, courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against Lewis's confederate, the duke of Ferrara: he courted Henry's favour, by sending him a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrysm: he engaged in his interest Bambridge, archbishop of York, Henry's ambassador at Rome, whom he raised to the rank of cardinal; drew over Ferdinand to his party, and formed a treaty with the Swiss cantons.

While Lewis repelled the attacks of his enemies, he endeavoured to despoil the pope of that sacred character, by which he was rendered formidable; and, in conjunction with Maximilian, determined to call a general council, that might put a check on the Roman pontiff. A council was accordingly summoned at Pisa, but few bishops appeared at it, except those of France; all the other prelates keeping at a distance from an assembly, which they considered as founded on faction, intrigue, and worldly politics. This council being treated with contempt at Pisa, they transferred their session to Milan, a city under the dominion of Lewis, and afterwards made another remove, to Lyons.

Yet

Yet Lewis himself strengthened the prejudices in favour of papal authority, by discovering symptoms of regard and submission to Julius, whom he always spared, even when fortune threw into his hands the most favourable opportunities of humbling him. That enterprizing pontiff, who knew his advantages, so far neglected his sacerdotal character, as to command in person at the siege of Mirandola, to visit the trenches where some of his attendants were killed by his side, and to bear with cheerfulness all the rigours of winter, in pursuit of military glory: yet he charged the most moderate of his opponents with impiety; summoned a council at Lateran; put all the places, that gave shelter to the schismatical council, under an interdict; excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it; pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who opposed him; freed their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to any who could obtain the possession of them.

Henry was seized with a desire of protecting the pope from the enterprizes of Lewis: for Julius had given him hopes, that his services should be rewarded, by his obtaining the title of The Most Christian King, which had been hitherto annexed to the crown of France. He was also impatient of acquiring that distinction in Europe, to which he thought himself entitled by his power and opulence; and therefore could not long remain neuter, but joined in an alliance formed by the pope, Spain, and Venice, against the French king.

He then sent a herald to Paris, to exhort Lewis not to wage impious war against the sovereign pontiff ; and on his returning without success, sent another to demand the provinces of Normandy, Guienne, Maine, and Anjou. This was understood to be a declaration of war against France ; and a parliament being assembled, supplies were readily granted for that purpose.

The pope's agent at London being corrupted by the court of France, had previously informed Lewis of all the measures which Henry was concerting against him. But this was of little prejudice to the king, in comparison with the treachery of his father-in law Ferdinand, on whom he chiefly relied for assistance. That prince, having long persevered in a course of crooked politics, valued himself on his fraud and artifice. He advised Henry not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he could not lend him his assistance, but rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he might easily conquer Guienne, and where he would assist him with a Spanish army ; and shewed such forwardness for this enterprize, that in 1512 he sent vessels to England for the forces Henry had raised. This armament, which consisted of ten thousand men, chiefly infantry, was commanded by the marquis of Dorset ; and the lord Broke, lord Ferrers, and lord Howard, son of the earl of Surrey, with many other of the young nobility and gentry, being inflamed with the desire of distinguishing themselves

selves by their military achievements, accompanied him in this service.

No sooner was Dorset landed in Guipiscoa, than Ferdinand declared his readiness to join him, in order to their jointly invading France, and forming the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne: but told the English general, that it would be dangerous to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which lies between France and Spain, as John d'Albret, the sovereign, being in close alliance with France, might easily cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against this, he demanded, that John should agree to a neutrality in the present war, to which that prince willingly consented. He then required, that security should be given for his strictly observing it: John also agreed to this condition. Ferdinand then demanded, that he should deliver six of the most considerable towns of his dominions into his hands, with his eldest son as an hostage. These terms, as Ferdinand expected, were refused, on which he immediately ordered his general, the duke of Alva, to invade Navarre, and reduce that kingdom to subjection. Alva soon became master of the smaller towns, when being ready to lay siege to Pampluna, the capital, he summoned the marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army.

Dorset suspecting that little regard was paid to the interest of his master in this affair, and having no orders to invade Navarre, refused to comply, and remained in his quarters at

Fontarabia, where his army kept that of the French in awe, and prevented its advancing to succour Navarre; whence Alva made himself master of Pampeluna, and obliged John to shelter himself in France. Alva again applied to Dorset; but as he still declined forming the siege of Bayonne, and insisted on invading another part of the king of Navarre's dominions, Dorset suspecting his sinister intentions, observed, that he could not comply without new orders from his master. Upon this Ferdinand dispatched Martin de Ampios, to London, to persuade Henry, that the most favourable opportunities were lost, by the refractory and scrupulous humour of the English general, it being necessary for him to act on all occasions in concert with the duke of Alva, who was best acquainted with the situation of the country, and the reasons of every operation. Meanwhile Dorset observing, that his farther stay was of no use to the main design, and that his soldiers perished daily by want and sickness, demanded of Ferdinand ships to convey him back to England. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furnish him whenever demanded with this supply, at last, after many delays, yielded to his importunity; but when Dorset was embarking his troops, and preparing for the voyage, a messenger from Henry arrived with orders for the troops to continue in Spain; when the soldiers, discontented with the treatment they had received, mutinied, and obliged their commanders to set sail. The ill success of this enterprize displeased Henry; and  
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the marquis of Dorset found great difficulty in appeasing him, by explaining Ferdinand's fraudulent conduct.

This summer an action happened at sea. Sir Thomas Knevett, with a fleet of forty-five sail, was sent to the coast of Britanny; on board of which was Sir Charles Brandon, Sir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who were eager to display their valour. After they had committed some depredations on the coast, Primauget, with thirty-nine ships, sailed from Brest, and attacked the English, when Primauget's ship being set on fire, that commander finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the English admiral's vessel, and grappling with her, resolved to make her share in his fate. For some time both fleets stood in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement, looking with horror on the flames which consumed both vessels, and attending to the cries of fury and despair that proceeded from the miserable combatants. The French vessel at last blew up, and at the same time destroyed that of the English; after which the rest of the French fleet escaped into different harbours, and the English remained masters of the channel.

Henry, who had now summoned a parliament, obtained a poll-tax, by which different sums were imposed, according to each persons rank: a duke was to pay ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks; and every man, whose goods were valued at eight hundred pounds, four marks.

He was also granted two-fifteenths and four-tenths. These supplies, added to the treasure left by his father, which was not yet entirely exhausted, enabled him to raise a great army. At the same time the arrival of a vessel in the Thames, under the papal banner, is said to have greatly encouraged the English in this enterprize. It brought presents of wine and hams to the king and his principal courtiers, and was received with the greatest joy and triumph.

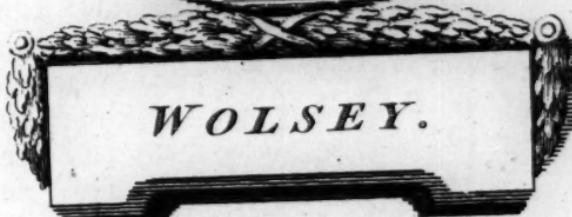
To prevent any disturbance from Scotland, while Henry's arms were employed on the continent, Dr. West, dean of Windsor, was sent on an embassy to James, in order to accommodate all differences between the two kingdoms, and to discover the intentions of that court. Each side had already made complaints; for one Barton, a Scotchman, having been injured by the Portuguese, without being able to obtain redress, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but no sooner set sail, than he committed depredations on the English, and much infested the narrow seas. The admirals, lord Howard and Sir Edward Howard, the sons of the earl of Surrey, sailing out against him, a desperate action ensued, in which the pirate was slain, and his ships afterwards brought into the Thames. As Henry refused to make satisfaction to the Scots, some of the borderers, who wanted a pretence for ravaging England, entered it under the command of lord Hume, and made great depredations. However, matters might have been easily

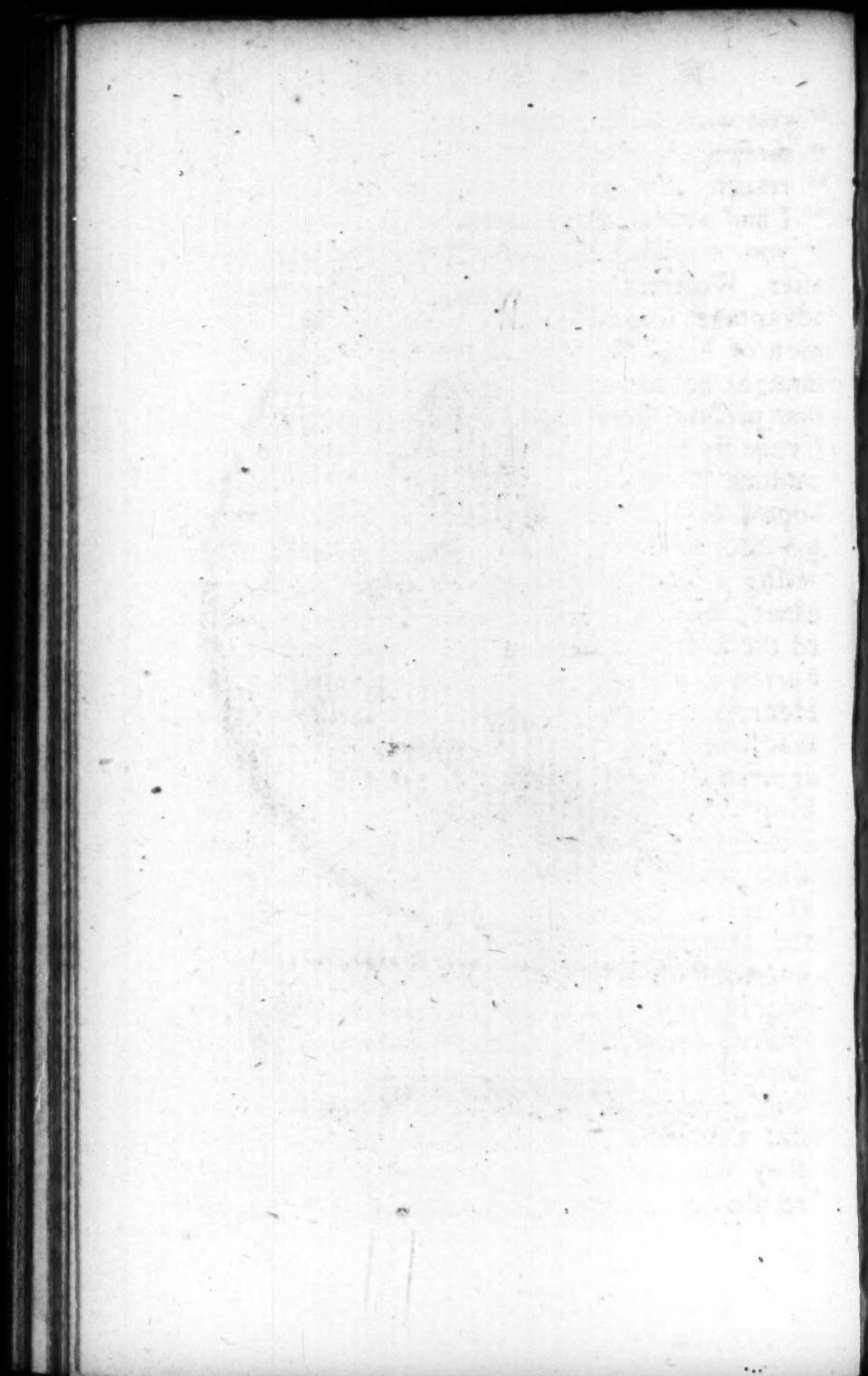
easily accommodated, had not the jealousy of the Scots been roused by Henry's intended invasion of France, for the Scots universally believed, that had it not been for the countenance they received from this foreign alliance, they could never have been able to maintain, for so long a time, their independence against a people who were so much superior to them. James was also incited to join in the quarrel, by the invitations of Anne, queen of France; he having ever professed himself her knight in all tournaments, and was now summoned by her, according to the romantic ideas of that age, to take the field in her defence, and thus prove himself her true and valorous champion. In vain did the remonstrances of his consort, and of his wifest counsellors, oppose that prince's martial ardour. He sent to the assistance of France a squadron of ships, yet made professions of maintaining a neutrality; upon which Henry sent the earl of Surrey to put the borders in a posture of defence.

Henry, enflamed with a desire of military glory, was little concerned at the appearance of a diversion in the north; as he flattered himself, that in his invasion of France, he should have the assistance of all the considerable powers of Europe. The pope thundered out his excommunications against Lewis and his adherents: the Swiss cantons shewed a violent animosity against France. The ambassadors of Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Henry, had signed a treaty of alliance against that power, and had even stipulated the time and place of their

their intended invasion ; and though Ferdinand had signed a truce with the common enemy for twelve months, Henry hoped for his concurrence after that time was expired. He had now a minister, who flattered him in all the schemes which his sanguine and impetuous temper induced him to form.

Thomas Wolsey, dean of Linco'n, and the king's almoner, was more in favour than the rest of his ministers ; and advanced with great speed towards an unrivalled grandeur. He was the son of a butcher at Ipswich ; but having an excellent capacity, and a learned education, had been admitted into the family of the marquis of Dorset, as tutor to his children ; and soon gaining his patron's friendship, was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII. That prince having employed him in a secret negociation, with respect to his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and was praised both for his diligence and dexterity : for that prince having sent him to Maximilian, who then resided in Brussels, he was, in less than three days after, surprized to see Wolsey appear before him ; and supposing that he had neglected to go, reproved him for being so dilatory in the execution of his orders ; when Wolsey told him, that he had just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. " But I found on second thoughts, " said the king, that somewhat was omitted " in your orders, and sent a messenger after " you





" you with fuller instructions." " I met the messenger, replied Wolsey, while on my return ; but as I had observed that omission, I had ventured to execute what I knew to be your majesty's intentions." Henry dying soon after, Wolsey was prevented from reaping any advantage from that prince's favourable opinion of him ; but Fox, bishop of Winchester, thought he might be serviceable to him : for that prelate observing, that he was eclipsed in favour by the earl of Surrey, resolved to introduce Wolsey to the young prince, with the hopes, that he might rival that nobleman in his insinuating arts, and yet be satisfied with acting a subordinate part to himself in the cabinet : but in a short time Wolsey so far gained the king's esteem, that he supplanted both Surrey and Fox. On his being admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, he promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found agreeable to the inclinations of the young king. His being near forty years of age, and a clergyman, were no restraints on the gaiety with which Henry passed his careless hours. He introduced business and state affairs during the intervals of amusement ; and then insinuated those maxims which he wished him to adopt : he told him, that while he trusted his father's counsellors with the conduct of his affairs, he had the advantage of employing persons of wisdom and experience ; but as they did not owe their promotion to his favour, they scarcely thought themselves accountable to him for the exercise of their authority ; and

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by their cabals and jealousies, obstructed business more than they promoted it by their age and experience: that while he chose to pass his time in the pleasures, to which he was invited by his age and royal fortune, and in the studies that would, in time, enable him to sway the sceptre alone, it would be best to entrust his authority to one who was the creature of his will, and could entertain no view, but that of promoting his service: and if this minister had likewise the same relish for pleasure with himself, and the same taste for learning, he might, with the greatest ease, at proper intervals, account to him for his whole conduct; introduce him gradually into the knowledge of public business, and thus, without a tedious constraint, initiate him into the art of government.

The king entered into all Wolsey's views; and finding none so fit to execute this plan of administration as the man who proposed it, he soon raised him to be a member of his council; and from thence to be his sole and absolute minister. Wolsey, by his rapid advancement and uncontrouled authority, had a full opportunity to display his character and genius. He was of an extensive capacity, but still more unbounded in his enterprizes: infatiable in his acquisitions, yet still more magnificent in his expences; and ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory: he was insinuating, engaging, and, by turns, lofty, elevated, and commanding: haughty to his equals, yet affable to his dependants: oppressive to the people,

ple, yet liberal to his friends ; and less moved by injuries than by contempt. Hence he was formed to assume the ascendant in his intercourse with others ; but exerted his superiority with such ostentation, as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recollect his original meanness.

While Henry placed his confidence on Wolsey, he was chiefly induced, by the ardour of youth and his natural bravery, to seek military glory. As Lewis made great preparations to oppose him, both by land and sea, he was equally careful to raise a formidable army, and to fit out a considerable fleet, to invade France. This fleet was entrusted to the command of Sir Edward Howard, who, for some time, scoured the channel ; and then appearing before Brest, where the French navy then lay, challenged them to fight him. The French admiral expecting a reinforcement of some gallies from the Mediterranean, under the command of Perjeant de Bidoux, stayed within the harbour, and patiently suffered the English to ravage the country in his neighbourhood. Prejeant at length arrived with six gallies, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of Brest ; and there sheltered himself behind some batteries he had planted on rocks that lay on each side of him. On the 25th of April Howard resolved to attack him ; and having but two gallies, gave the command of one to lord Ferrars, and took that of the other himself. He was followed by some row-barges and some crayers, commanded by Sir William Sidney,

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Sir Thomas Cheyney, and other officers of distinction. Having rowed up to Prejeant, he grappled his vessel, and leaped on board, attended by Carroz, a Spanish Cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. Mean while the cable, by which his ship was fastened to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral, with these men, were left in the French vessel, yet continued the combat with great gallantry, till Howard was pushed over board by their pikes. Lord Ferrars observing the admiral's galley fall off, advanced with the other small vessels; but the English being discouraged by the loss of their brave commander, discontinued the engagement, and retired from Brest. The French fleet being now reinforced by the gallies, and elevated with their success, set sail for the coast of England, and made a descent on Sussex; they were however repulsed, and Prejeant, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow. The command of the English fleet was now given to lord Howard, brother to the deceased admiral; but during this summer, little memorable passed at sea.

During the preceding winter, great preparations had been made for invading France by the way of Calais; but the summer was far advanced before every thing was ready for that expedition. The long peace enjoyed by the English, had rendered them almost unfit for military enterprizes; and the change introduced into the art of war, had made it somewhat difficult to enure them to the weapons now in use. The Swiss first, and then the

Spaniards,

Spaniards, had proved the advantage of a firm infantry that fought with pike and sword; and were able to repulse even the heavy-armed cavalry, in which the principal strength of the armies before consisted. Fire-arms were become common; though the caliver now in use was so inconvenient, that it had not entirely discredited the bow, in the use of which, the English excelled all the nations of Europe. Hence a considerable part of the forces, levied by Henry for the invasion of France, consisted of archers; and every thing was no sooner ready, than the van-guard of the army, amounting to eight thousand men, commanded by the earl of Shrewsbury, sailed to Calais. Soon after, another body of six thousand men followed under the command of lord Herbert. The king himself prepared to follow with the main body, and the rear of the army.

Henry appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his absence; but before he set sail, ordered Edward de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the Tower. That nobleman had surrendered himself on the flattering promises that had been made him by the late king; who, though he had consented to spare his life, exhorted his son to commit this act of violence, telling him, that he would never be free from danger while so turbulent a man as Suffolk was living.

Henry, attended by many of the nobility, at last arrived at Calais, on an expedition from which he vainly hoped for success and glory. The Swiss were his only allies that fully per-

formed their engagements. Incited by their animosity against France, and animated by the victories they had obtained in Italy, they prepared to march with an army of twenty-five thousand men ; and no equal force could be opposed by the French against them. Maximilian had received from Henry a hundred and twenty thousand crowns in advance ; and had promised to reinforce the Swiss with eight thousand men, but failed in his engagements : however, to make some atonement, he appeared in person in the Netherlands, and joined the English army with some Flemish and German soldiers, who were of use in setting an example of discipline to Henry's new raised forces. Observing that prince to be more bent on glory than on interest, Maximilian himself enlisted in his service ; wore the cross of St. George, and received for his pay a hundred crowns a day, as one of his captains and subjects. But while this emperor of Germany thus served under the king of England, he was not only treated by Henry with the highest respect, but actually directed all the operations of the army.

Before Henry and Maximilian's arrival in the camp, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert had laid siege to Terouane, on the frontiers of Picardy, and began the attack with vigour. Teligni and Crequi commanded in the town, which had a garrison that did not exceed a thousand men, but defended the place with great vigour, and were at last in danger, from the want of provisions and ammunition,

of being obliged to surrender ; but having sent notice of their situation to Lewis, who had advanced with his army to Amiens, he gave orders to throw relief into the place. Upon this Fontrailles set out at the head of eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried behind him two quarters of bacon and a sack of gunpowder. This small body unexpectedly rushed through the English camp ; and overcoming all opposition, advanced to the fohee of the town, where each horseman threw down his burthen, and immediately galloping back, were again so happy as to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss.

Soon after, the English fully revenged this insult. Henry having received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect Fontrailles, ordered some troops to pass the Lis, and oppose them. This body of French cavalry, notwithstanding they chiefly consisted of gentlemen who had behaved in many desperate actions in Italy with great gallantry, were, on seeing the enemy, seized with such an unaccountable panic, that they instantly fled, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Clermont, Buffi, d'Amboise, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and other officers of distinction, were made prisoners. This rout is sometimes termed the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought, but more generally the battle of Spurs ; because that day the French made more use of their spurs, than of their weapons.

Henry, who was at the head of above fifty thousand men, might have pursued this advantage, and have proceeded even to the gates of Paris, and covered the country with confusion and desolation ; but the English, instead of pushing their victory, and attacking the terrified troops of France, to the great joy of Lewis, returned to the siege of so inconsiderable a town as Terouane, which was soon after obliged to capitulate. Henry found this acquisition, though gained at the expence of some blood, and of much valuable time, of little consequence ; and therefore instantly demolished the fortifications. The terrors of the French again revived : a formidable army of Swiss had entered Burgundy, and laid siege to Dijon ; and the French were scarcely ever in greater danger, and less able to defend themselves against the powerful armies, with which they were on every side threatened or assailed. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, not thinking themselves safe there, began to remove, without knowing where they should find a place of greater safety.

However, the many blunders of Lewis's enemies extricated him from his difficulties. The Swiss suffered themselves to be seduced into a negociation by Tremoille, governor of Burgundy ; and without enquiring, whether he had any powers to treat with them, accepted of the conditions he offered them. Tremoille, knowing that his master would disavow whatever he did, consented to all their demands, and was very glad to get rid of so formidable

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an enemy, by some payments and very large promises.

Henry shewed himself as ignorant of military policy as the Swiss. Maximilian advised Henry to lay siege to Tournay, a great and rich city of France, on the frontiers of Flanders, with the hopes of freeing his grandson from so troublesome a neighbour as the French; and Henry, not considering that this acquisition would not promote his conquests in France, was so imprudent as to follow his interested advice. Tournay being, by its ancient charters, exempted from the burthen of a garrison, the burghers engaged, contrary to the remonstrance of their sovereign, to defend the city; but when they came to a trial, their courage failed; and, after suffering a few days siege, surrendered to the English. The bishop of Tournay being lately dead, the chapter had elected a new bishop, who was not installed in his office. Henry, therefore, bestowed that see on Wolsey, his favourite, and put him in immediate possession of the revenues.

Henry hearing of the retreat of the Swiss, and finding the season far advanced, returned to England with the greatest part of his army. As all his enterprizes had been attended with success, his youthful mind was greatly elated with his seeming prosperity; but people of judgment comparing his advantages with his progress, and the expence with his acquisitions, were convinced, that this boasted campaign was both ruinous and inglorious.

In the mean while the king of Scotland, after assembling the whole force of his kingdom, had passed the Tweed with an army of above fifty thousand men; and after ravaging the parts of Northumberland near that river, took the castles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of small importance. Lady Ford was taken prisoner in her castle; and being presented to James, so gained on his affections, that he spent in pleasure the critical time which, during the absence of his enemies, he ought to have employed in pursuing his conquests. His forces being in a barren country, in which their provisions were soon consumed, began to be pinched with hunger; and many of them had stolen from their camp, and retired towards their own country. In the mean time the earl of Surrey, having assembled an army of twenty six thousand men, approached the Scots, who lay on some high grounds near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till, which separated the two armies, preventing an engagement, Surrey sent a herald to the Scotch camp, challenging them to descend into Milfield-plain; and appointed a day for them to try their valour on equal ground. Surrey, on receiving no satisfactory answer, made a feint, as if he intended to march towards Berwick, in order to enter Scotland, lay waste the borders, and cut off his enemies provisions. When the Scottish army, setting fire to the huts in which they had been quartered, marched down from the hills.

Surrey

Surrey now taking advantage of the smoke, which being blown towards him, concealed his motions, passed the Till at Twisel-bridge, with his artillery and van-guard ; and sent the rest of his army higher up the river, in search of a ford. A battle being now inevitable, both sides prepared for it with great tranquility. The English army was divided into two lines : in the first, lord Howard led the main body, Sir Edmund Howard the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Constable the left. In the second, the earl of Surrey commanded the main body, lord Dacres the right wing, and Sir Edward Stanley the left. The king of Scotland drew up his army on a rising ground, and the front appeared in three divisions : the right commanded by the earl of Huntley, assisted by lord Hume ; the center by the king himself, and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. There was also a fourth division, as a body of reserve, under the earl of Boscobel. The battle was begun by Huntley ; who, after a sharp conflict, put the left wing of the English to flight, and chased them off the field : but, on his return from the pursuit, he found the Scottish army in great disorder. The division commanded by Lenox and Argyle, were so elated with the success of the other wing, that they broke their ranks ; and in spite of the remonstrances of la Motte, the French ambassador, rushed in the utmost confusion upon the English. Sir Edmund Howard, with his division, received them with great bravery ; while Dacres wheeling about during the action, fell upon

on their rear, and put them to the sword without opposition. In the mean time the division under king James, and that under Boswell, animated by the valour of their commanders, still made head against the English ; and forming themselves into a circle, continued the battle till night separated the combatants. The darkness favoured the retreat of the Scots ; and the English were not sensible that they had obtained the victory, till the morning discovered where the advantage lay. Ten thousand Scots are said to have perished on this occasion ; and the victors to have lost about half that number. Others represent the numbers that fell on each side as nearly equal, each amounting to above five thousand men : but the English lost only persons of small note, while the flower of the Scottish nobility, with the king himself, were slain. In searching the field, the English found a dead body, which resembled him, dressed in a habit like his ; and it being put into a leaden coffin, was sent to London, where it was kept unburied for some time, James having died under the sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his opposing the holy see ; but upon Henry's pretending, that he had discovered signs of repentance in the instant before his death, he received absolution, and his body was interred. However, the Scots asserted, that James's body was not found on the field of battle ; but that of a young gentleman called Elphinston, who, with several other volunteers, were dressed like the king,

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that his danger might be the more divided. It was believed, that James was seen to cross the Tweed at Kelso, and that he was assassinated by the vassals of lord Hume, who had been instigated to commit so enormous a crime by that nobleman. The populace were, however, persuaded, that he was still alive ; and having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would at length return, and again take possession of the throne. The Scots long entertained this conceit. The above victory, which is called the battle of Flouden, was fought on the ninth of September 1513.

This victory afforded Henry a favourable opportunity of obtaining great advantages over Scotland ; and perhaps of conquering that kingdom. But on this occasion he behaved with great generosity. When Margaret, queen of Scotland, who had been created regent during her son's minority, applied for peace, he had compassion on the helpless condition of his nephew and sister, and readily granted it.

The next year the earl of Surrey was rewarded for this signal victory, by being restored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which his father had forfeited by engaging on the side of Richard III. Lord Howard was made earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, whom the king had before created viscount Lisle, was now made duke of Suffolk. Lord Herbert obtained the title of earl of Worcester ; Sir Edward Stanley that of lord Monteagle ; and Wolsey was created bishop of Lincoln.

Lewis

Lewis being perfectly sensible of the danger to which his kingdom was exposed in the last campaign, resolved to prevent a return of the like dangers. The pope, being not at all disposed to drive the French to extremities, accepted Lewis's offer to renounce the council of Lyons, and took off the excommunication denounced against that king and his kingdom. Ferdinand, who was advanced in years, and had no other ambition than to keep possession of Navarre, which he had subdued, readily listened to Lewis's proposals for prolonging the truce another year, and of forming a more intimate connection with Lewis, by marrying his second daughter Renée, with whom he was to have Lewis's claim to the duchy of Milan; the emperor Maximilian also acceded to the treaty.

Henry flew into a violent rage on his being informed of Ferdinand's renewal of the truce with Lewis, loudly complaining, that his father-in-law, by his promises and professions, had engaged him to be at enmity with France; and yet, without the least warning, sacrificed his interest to his own selfish views, leaving him exposed to all the dangers and expence of the war. But he lost all patience, on hearing that Maximilian was also seduced from his alliance, and that proposals had been agreed to for the marriage of Charles, prince of Spain, with the daughter of France. That prince had, during the life of the late king, been contracted to Mary, Henry's second sister; and as Charles now approached the age of puberty, the king had

had expected that the marriage would be soon completed ; and his sister, whom he tenderly loved, obtain an honourable settlement. Hence he was filled with the highest displeasure against all those, who had taken advantage of his youth and inexperience.

At this time, the duke of Longueville, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Spurs, and was still detained in England, took advantage of Henry's vexation, to procure a peace, which he knew to be eagerly desired by his master ; and therefore represented to the king, that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, an affinity might be formed, which would prove of advantage to both kingdoms, and at once put a period to all their differences, and that no marriage seemed more suitable than that of Lewis to the princess of England, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes of his obtaining an heir to the crown : that though it might appear somewhat unsuitable for a king of fifty three years of age to be married to a prince of sixteen, yet the alliance would be attended with other advantages, more than sufficient to compensate for this inequality.

As Henry seemed to listen to this discourse, Longueville informed Lewis of the probability of bringing the affair to a happy conclusion, and received full powers for negotiating the treaty. Hence the articles were easily adjusted. Lewis agreed that Tournay should continue in the hands of the English ; that Richard de la Pole should retire to Metz, and have a pension assigned

assigned him by Lewis; that Henry should receive a million of crowns, as the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that the princess Mary should have four hundred thousand crowns for her portion; and posse's as large a jointure as any other queen of France had done.

Agreeably to this treaty, Mary was sent with a splendid retinue to France, and was met by Lewis at Abbeville, where the marriage was celebrated. He was charmed with the young princess's beauty and many accomplishments; but being, upon this occasion, seduced into a course of gaiety and pleasure, unsuitable to his declining state of health, he died on the first of January, 1550, in less than three months after his marriage, to the great concern of the French, who unanimously gave him the honourable title of The Father of his people.

The duke of Angouleme, who was twenty-one years of age, and had married Lewis's eldest daughter, succeeded him on the throne, under the name of Francis I. and by his valour, activity, generosity, and other virtues, seemed to promise a happy and glorious reign. This young monarch had been struck with the charms of the English princess; and while his predecessor was living, had attended her so closely, that some of his friends apprehended his having a design upon her virtue; but being informed, that by indulging his passion he might probably exclude himself from the throne, he forbore his addresses, and even, with a very careful eye, watched the young dowager during the first

first months of her being a widow. At that time Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was at the court of France. He was esteemed one of the handsomest men of the age, and the most accomplished in all the exercises suitable to a courtier and a soldier. He was a favourite of Henry, who had once thought of marrying him to his sister, and they had both indulged a mutual passion for each other. The queen asked Suffolk, if he had the courage to venture to marry her; and let him know, that the king, her brother, would more easily forgive him for not asking his consent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk joyfully embraced the inviting offer, and their marriage was privately celebrated at Paris. Francis was not displeased with their union, as it might prevent Henry from forming any powerful alliance, by his sister's means; and therefore interposed his good offices in moderating his resentment, and was seconded by Wolsey, who exerted himself in reconciling the king to his sister and brother-in-law, and obtained a permission for them to return to England.

Wolsey, by his aspiring character, raised himself many enemies, which only served to rivet him faster in the confidence of Henry, who was fond of supporting the choice he had made against all opposition. That prelate, knowing the king's imperious temper, had the art to conceal from him the ascendant he had obtained; and while all public councils were under his secret direction, he constantly pretended a blind submission to his master's will.

He preserved the king's affection, by entering into his pleasures ; he gratified his indolence, by conducting his business, and by his unbounded complaisance in both cases, prevented the jealousy which would naturally have arisen from his exorbitant acquisitions, and ostentatious course of life. The archbishopric of York becoming vacant, Wolsey resigned the bishopric of Lincoln, and was promoted to that see. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he, on easy leases, obtained the possession of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford ; bishoprics filled by Italians, who, being permitted to reside abroad, were willing to compound for this indulgence, by yielding to him a considerable share of their revenues. He held the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments in commendam. He was even permitted to unite to the see of York, first that of Durham, and then that of Winchester ; and there appeared to be no end of his acquisitions. The pope observing his great influence over Henry, endeavoured to engage him in his interest, by creating him a cardinal. Under the colour of exacting a regard to religion, he carried the state and dignity of a churchman to the most exorbitant height. He had a train consisting of eight hundred servants, many of whom were knights and gentlemen : even some of the nobility put their children into his family, as a place of education ; and that they might gain their patron's favour, allowed them to bear offices, as his servants. All who were dis-

distinguished by their skill in any art or science, paid their court to him, and none paid it in vain. He was a generous patron of literature, which was then in its infancy, and gave encouragement to every branch of erudition, both by his private bounty and public institutions. This munificence procured him the approbation of the wise; but not satisfied with this, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the embroidery of his liveries, and the richness of his own apparel. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk and gold on his habit, his saddles, and the trappings of his horses. His cardinal's hat was borne aloft by a person of rank; and, on his coming to the king's chapel, he would permit its being laid on no place but the altar. The tallest and most comely priest that could be found carried before him a silver pillar, with a cross on the top; and another priest of equal stature and beauty, bore the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury. Warham, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, being averse to all disputes, chose to retire from public employment, and resigned his office of chancellor; on which the great seal was delivered to Wolsey. But though this dignity increased the number of his enemies, it exalted his personal character; for no chancellor ever shewed greater impartiality in his decisions, a more enlarged knowledge of law and equity, or deeper penetration.

The duke of Norfolk now finding the king's money almost exhausted, resigned his office of treasurer, and retired from court. His rival Fox, bishop of Winchester, partly disgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolsey, and partly overcome by years and infirmities, retired to take care of his diocese ; and the duke of Suffolk, offended at the king's having refused to pay a debt which he had contracted while he resided in France, lived in privacy. Thus Wolsey was left to enjoy the power and favour of the king without a rival.

The death of Ferdinand, the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions in 1516, made Francis sensible of the necessity of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry ; and for that purpose, he paid his court by presents and flattery to Wolsey. He dispatched Bonnivet, admiral of France, to London, with orders to employ all that insinuation and address in which he excelled, to procure the cardinal's good graces. The ambassador took an opportunity to express his master's concern, that, by mistakes and misapprehensions, he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so highly valued as that of his eminence. Wolsey listened to these honourable advances, and from thenceforward expressed himself in favour of the French alliance. Francis even entered into such confidence with him, as to ask his advice in his most secret affairs ; and in every difficult emergency had recourse to him, as to an oracle of wisdom. The cardinal

dinal made no secret to Henry of this private correspondence ; and the king had such an opinion of his minister's capacity, that he said, he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself.

At length Bonnivet informed the cardinal of his master's desire to recover Tournay, on which Wolsey took an opportunity to represent to the king and council, that the distance between Tournay and Calais was so great, that in case of a war, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to keep open the communication between them : that, as it was seated on the frontiers both of France and the Low Countries, it might be attacked on either side, and that it could not be preserved, even in time of peace, without a large garrison, to put a check on the mutinous inhabitants, who were discontented with the English government ; and that its possession, though precarious and expensive, was entirely useless, with respect to annoying the dominions either of Charles or Francis. These reasons meeting with no opposition, a treaty was entered into for the ceding of Tournay ; and it was agreed, that the dauphin should be contracted to the princess Mary, though both of them were infants, and this city be considered as the princess's dowry. But Henry having been at considerable expence in building a citadel there, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve annual payments, and to allow a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres to the cardinal, as an equivalent

valent for the revenue of the bishopric of Tournay.

Wolsey's pride was soon after encreased by the pope's investing him with the legantine power, together with the right of suspending all the laws of the church during a twelve-month. On obtaining this new dignity, he displayed his grandeur with great parade. On solemn feast days he said mass after the manner of the pope himself; was served by bishops and abbots, and even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel.

Wolsey now erected an office, which he termed a legantine court; and as he was thus, by means of the pope's commission, and the favour of the king, invested with all the ecclesiastical and civil power, none knew what bounds he would set to the authority of his new tribunal. He directed the members of this court to enquire into all matters of conscience; into every thing which had given scandal, and into all those actions which, though they escaped the law, were contrary to good morals. People were offended on seeing a man so fond of pomp and pleasure, severe in repressing the least appearance of licentiousness in other people; and this court was rendered the more obnoxious, from Wolsey's making one John Allen judge in it, whom Wolsey himself, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury; and as he extorted fines from all whom he was pleased to find guilty, or received bribes to drop prosecutions, it was concluded, that the cardinal himself had a share in those wages of iniquity.

ty. To the tyranny of this court, the clergy and the monks were particularly exposed; and as their lives frequently gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to pay large sums to purchase an indemnity. Wolsey, not satisfied with this authority, pretended to assume, by virtue of his commission, the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts, particularly that of judging of wills and testaments.

None dared to complain to the king of Wolsey's usurpations, till archbishop Warham ventured to mention to him the discontents of the people. Henry professed himself entirely ignorant of it, saying, "A man is no where so blind as in his own house. But do you, father, go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it." This only served to augment the cardinal's enmity to Warham; but Allen, his judge, being prosecuted by one London, in a court of law, and being convicted, the clamour at last reached the king's ears, and he expressed such displeasure to Wolsey, as rendered him ever after more cautious in the exertion of his authority.

Henry's attention was now excited by the death of the emperor Maximilian, on the 12th of January 1519, which leaving vacant the first station among the Christian princes, agitated the passions of mankind, and became a remarkable period in the general system of Europe. Instantly the kings of France and Spain became candidates for the Imperial crown, and by money and intrigues, endeavoured to obtain the great point of their ambition.

bition. Henry likewise made his pretensions ; but Pace, his minister, who was sent to the electors, found that he was too late ; all these princes having already promised their votes.

From the beginning, both Francis and Charles professed to carry on this rivalry without enmity. Francis declared, that his brother Charles and he were fair and open suitors to the same mistress ; and that, as the most fortunate would obtain her, the other must rest satisfied. But every one apprehended, that this extraordinary moderation would be of short duration, and that the minds of the candidates would soon be imbibed against each other. Charles, at last, prevailed, though the king of France had continued till the last to believe, that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. He being some years older than his rival, and having obtained a glorious victory at Marignan, and conquered the Milanese, he was much superior in military glory ; and was now filled with indignation at his being thus publicly disappointed in a pretension of such importance. From hence, joined to the opposition of interest, arose that emulation between them, which kept that age in motion, and formed a remarkable contrast between these two princes ; both of them were endowed with extraordinary abilities : they were brave, aspiring, and active ; beloved by their subjects, feared by their enemies, and respected by all Europe. Francis, who was open, frank, and liberal, carried those virtues to an excess that was prejudicial

to his affairs: Charles, who was politic, artful, and frugal, was better qualified to obtain success in wars than negotiations. The one was by far the more amiable man, and the other the greatest prince. Fortune, without the assistance of prudence or valour, never raised of a sudden such power as centred in the emperor Charles V. He had succeeded to the possession of Castile, Arragon, Granada, Austria, the Netherlands and Naples, and was elected emperor; and a little before his time, the bounds of the earth seemed to be enlarged, that he might possess the unrifled treasure of the new world. His dominions in Europe were richer and more extensive than any that had been known since the time of the Romans: France alone, by being a compact, rich, and populous country, placed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to oppose his progress. However Henry, by the situation and strength of his kingdom, was able to hold the balance between those powers; and had he known how to improve, by his prudence and policy, this extraordinary advantage, it would have really made him a greater prince than either of those great monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But Henry was impolitic, capricious, and inconsiderate; of a vain, imperious, and haughty disposition; and guided by his passions or his favourite. Indeed he was sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, but oftener by his resentment, and seldom by his true interest.

Francis

Francis being well acquainted with Henry's character, solicited an interview with him near Calais, in hopes of obtaining his friendship and confidence, by familiar conversation. This proposal was earnestly seconded by Wolsey, who hoped, in the presence of both courts, to distinguish himself by his splendour, and his influence over the two monarchs. Henry himself being fond of show and magnificence, and at the same time desirous of being acquainted with Francis, readily adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The English and French nobility vied with each other in pomp and expence; and many of them, on this occasion, involving themselves in large debts, were unable, by their future frugality, to repair the vain splendor of a few days.

But while Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, the emperor arrived at Dover on the 25th of May 1520; and the king and queen immediately hasted thither, in order to receive their royal guest. Charles, though young, was extremely politic; and being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, apprehended the consequences, and resolved to seize the opportunity of his passing by sea from Spain to the Netherlands, to pay the king a still higher compliment, by visiting him in his own dominions. The king conducted him to Canterbury, and magnificently entertained him during the Whitsun-holidays. Besides the marks of regard and attachment, which Charles gave to Henry, he strove, by every testimony of friendship,

ship, by flattery, presents, and promises, to raise the cardinal's vanity, avarice, and ambition. He here instilled into this prelate's aspiring mind, the hope of obtaining the papacy; and that being the only point of elevation above his present greatness, it attracted his most ardent wishes; and, with the hopes of obtaining this dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interest. On the other hand, Charles was the more liberal of his promises, as Leo being young, it would probably be many years before he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry, instead of being offended at his minister's being thus courted, made it a subject of vanity; thinking that the obsequiousness of such a powerful monarch to his servant, was the most conspicuous homage to his own grandeur. Charles, after staying five days, took leave of his aunt Catharine and Henry, and embarked at Sandwich for Flanders, well satisfied with the success of his visit.

The same day Henry sailed from Dover to Calais, with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeding to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers, took up his residence in a superb wooden house, erected near the place appointed for the interview: it was furnished in the most ostentatious manner; and from the chapel was a private gallery that reached to the castle of Guisnes. Francis, attended in like manner, came to a house near Ardres, that was rather large than sumptuous;

ous ; for he had intended to lodge in a pavilion of cloth of gold ; but it being blown down by the wind, a wooden house was hastily built in its room. On the 7th of June, the two monarchs met on horseback in the valley of Ardrés, within the English pale ; for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of his having crossed the sea, in order to visit him. Wolsey, to whom the regulation of the ceremonial had been entrusted by both kings, contrived this circumstance to do honour to his master. The nobility, both of England and France, here displayed their magnificence with such profusion, that the place of interview was stiled the Field of Cloth of Gold.

The two monarchs having alighted, saluted each other in the most cordial manner, and retired, arm in arm, into a rich tent pitched for their accommodation, where they held a secret conference. Here Henry proposed an amendment of some of the articles of their former alliance, and began with reading the first words of the treaty, “ I Henry king,” and pausing a moment, added only “ of England ;” without mentioning France ; on which Francis observing this delicacy, expressed his approbation by a smile, and soon after paid Henry a compliment of a more flattering nature.

Francis, who was himself a man of honour, and incapable of distrusting others, was vexed at the precautions he observed to be taken whenever he had an interview with Henry : the number of their attendants and guards were on

on both sides carefully counted : every step was scrupulously measured ; and when the two kings proposed to pay a visit to the queens, they left their respective quarters at the same instant, on the discharge of a culverin, and passed by each other in the middle point between the places. Francis, in order to put an end to this tedious ceremonial, which contained the most dishonourable implications, one day took with him only two gentlemen and a page, with whom he rode into Guisnes. The guards were surprized at the presence of the French king, who called aloud to them, “ You are all my prisoners ; “ carry me to your master.” Henry was equally astonished at Francis’s appearance ; and taking him in his arms, said, “ Brother, you have “ here played me the most agreeable trick in “ the world, and have shewed what full confi-“ dence I may place in you : I from this mo-“ ment surrender myself your prisoner.” Then taking from his neck a collar of pearls, worth fifteen thousand angels\*, and putting it about that of Francis, desired him to wear it for his prisoner’s sake. Francis agreed, on condition of Henry’s wearing a bracelet, which he presented him, and was worth double the value of the collar. The next day Henry went, without either guards or attendants, to Ardres ; and a perfect confidence being thus fully established between the two kings, the rest of their time was spent in festivals and tournaments.

The two monarchs had sent a defiance to each other’s court, and to all the principal ci-

\* An angel was then of about the value of twelve shillings of our present money.

ties in Europe, importing, that the kings Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would, in the plains of Picardy, be ready to answer all gentlemen at tilts, tournaments, and barriers. In order to fulfil this challenge, the two monarchs advanced on horseback into the field; Henry surrounded with Francis's guards, and Francis with those of Henry. They were sumptuously dressed, and were esteemed not only the most handsome personages of that age, but the most expert in all military exercises. At all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes, they carried away the prize; and by their vigour and dexterity, several horses and riders were overthrown. In these feats of chivalry, the ladies were the judges; and whenever they thought proper, put an end to the encounters. Henry caused to be erected a spacious house, formed of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London, and there feasted the French monarch. On this structure was embroidered the figure of an English archer, under which was the following motto, *Cui adhæreo præf',* “ he prevails whom I favour,” alluding to his situation, as holding the balance of power among the princes of Europe. The two kings passed their time in these entertainments till their departure, without paying much attention to serious business.

Henry, on his leaving Francis I. went to Gravelines, where he paid a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy, and prevailed on them to go along with him to Calais, and spend some time in that fortress. Charles V. the most artful and politic prince in Europe, here completed

pleated the favourable impression he had begun to make on Henry and Wolsey, and effaced all the friendship which Francis's frank and generous temper had kindled in their minds. Charles, sensible of the hereditary animosity which subsisted between England and France, and desirous of flattering Henry's vanity, offered to make him arbiter in any dispute that might arise between him and Francis. At the same time he secured Wolsey in his interest, by important services, and magnificent promises; and not only renewed his assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papal crown, but put him in actual possession of the revenues belonging to the fees of Badajoz and Palencia.

The emulation and political jealousy that subsisted between Charles and Francis, soon produced hostilities between them; but while these ambitious princes were at war with each other in different parts of their dominions, they still professed the strongest desire of peace, and continually carried their complaints to Henry, as to their common umpire. That king, pretending to be neutral, advised them to send their ambassadors to Calais, in order to negotiate a peace under the mediation of cardinal Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor knowing the partiality of these mediators in his favour, demanded the restitution of Burgundy, tho' it had been ceded to France many years by treaty; and tho' its being in his possession would give him an entrance into the heart of that kingdom; he also insisted on being freed from the homage constantly paid by his ancestors.

tors for Flanders and Artois, though he himself had engaged to renew it by the treaty of Noyon. These terms being rejected by Francis, the congress broke up, and soon after, Wolsey went to the emperor at Bruges, where he was received with the same state and magnificence as if he had been Henry himself; and there, in his master's name, concluded an offensive alliance against France, with the emperor and the pope. It was stipulated, that England should invade that kingdom the next summer with forty thousand men; and Charles was betrothed to the king's only child, the princess Mary, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown.

New instances of Wolsey's uncontrouled authority appeared every day. The duke of Buckingham, constable of England, and the first nobleman in the kingdom, both for family and fortune, had offended the cardinal, and soon found reason to repent of it. He appears to have been a rash man, full of levity; and being infatuated with judicial astrology, was persuaded to believe by one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, that he should one day obtain the crown of England. He was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, Edward the Third's youngest son; and had been so unguarded as to drop some expressions, intimating, that in case the king died without issue, he himself was best entitled to ascend the throne, and had provided arms, which he intended to employ, in case he had a favourable opportunity. For this he was brought to his trial, and

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the duke of Norfolk, whose son, the earl of Surry, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward on this solemn occasion. He was tried by one duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons, by whom he was condemned; but as his crimes appeared to proceed rather from indiscretion than deliberate malice, the people, by whom he was beloved, expected that he would be pardoned, and imputed that disappointment to the influence of the cardinal. However, the king's jealousy of all who were allied to the crown, was alone sufficient to render him implacable against this nobleman. The office of constable was now forfeited, and never after revived in England.

Leo X. by his generous and enterprizing spirit, had been reduced to the necessity of making use of every contrivance, to raise money to support his projects, and the liberality with which he rewarded men of learning. Among his other projects, he built the magnificent church of St. Peter at Rome; and, to enable him to carry on that great work, published indulgences. The collectors of this revenue are said to have made use of every art to extort money from the people; and at the same time to have lived very licentious lives, spending in taverns, gaming-houses, and still more infamous places, part of that money which devout persons had saved to purchase the remission of their sins. These circumstances gave a general offence, and excited Martin Luther, an Austin friar, who was professor in the university of Wittemberg, to preach against the sale of in-

dulgences, and at length to call in question the authority of the pope. All Europe, in a little time, attended to his writings; and he gained many partizans among people of all ranks and denominations. Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and was particularly prejudiced against Luther, who in his works had treated Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author, with contempt. Hence, to shew his zeal and his learning, he wrote a treatise in Latin on the seven sacraments, against Luther's book of the captivity of Babylon. A copy of this work Henry sent to Leo, who received it with the greatest testimonies of regard; and conferred on that prince the title of Defender of the Faith, which is still retained by the kings of England. This work was answered by Luther, who treated Henry with as little ceremony as he had been treated by that monarch.

Leo X. died in the flower of his age, soon after he received the king's book against Luther, and was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles V. The last mentioned prince being sensible that Wolsey was disappointed in his ambitious hopes, by the election of Adrian, dreaded that minister's resentment; and therefore, to repair the breach which this had made in their friendship, paid another visit to England, on the 26th of May, 1522; and then, not only flattered the vanity of the king and the cardinal, but renewed his promises of seconding Wolsey's pretensions to the papal chair.

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On which Wolsey being sensible, that the great age and infirmities of Adrian promised a speedy vacancy, concealed his resentment, and flattered himself with the hopes of being successful at the next election. Charles renewed the treaty concluded at Bruges, and agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolsey, for the revenue they should lose by a breach with France. Still farther to ingratiate himself with Henry, and the English in general, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission, constituting him admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter. After staying six weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days returned to Spain.

Henry now immediately declared war against France, for no other cause, but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his sending Albany into Scotland. Surrey then landed with some troops at Cherburg in Normandy; and after ravaging the country, sailed to Morlaix in Britanny, which he took and plundered; and though the English merchants had considerable property there, it was no more spared than the goods of the French. Surrey afterwards leaving the charge of the fleet to his vice admiral, sailed to Calais, and took the command of the English army designed for the invasion of France, which, when joined by some forces from the Netherlands, commanded by the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to eighteen thousand men.

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The French had, for a considerable time, avoided a general engagement with the English; and the duke of Vendome, who was at the head of the French army, embracing this wise policy, supplied the towns most exposed with strong garrisons, and plenty of provisions. He himself, with a body of cavalry, and some Swiss and French infantry, took post at Abbeville, while the count of Guise, with six thousand men, encamped under Montreuil. These two bodies were so situated, as to join upon occasion, to throw supplies into any town that was threatened, and to harass the English in all their motions. Surrey, who was unprovided with magazines, was obliged to divide his troops, in order to furnish them with subsistence; but his quarters being continually beaten up by the French generals, he drew his forces together, and laid siege to Hedin. But the garrison making vigorous sallies, while the French forces assaulted him from without, and great rains falling, his soldiers were thrown by fatigue and the badness of the weather into dysenteries; on which Surrey was obliged, about the end of October, to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter quarters, without being able to take one place belonging to the French.

In Italy, the allies were more successful; for the French, under the command of Lautrec, lost a great battle at Bicocca, near Milan, which was owing to Francis's negligence, in not supplying Lautrec with money; and this being followed by the loss of Genoa, the only

only fortress in Italy remaining in the hands of the French, was the castle of Cremona.

As the closest league had long subsisted between France and Scotland, the English, while they were at war with the French, could not hope to remain long unmolested. Albany had no sooner arrived in Scotland, and obtained the post of regent, than he endeavoured to kindle a war with England ; and for that purpose summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Roslin, whence he conducted the army southwards into Annandale, and prepared to pass the borders at Solway-Frith ; when many of the nobility being disgusted with the regent's administration, murmured, that, for the sake of France, a war was wantonly entered into, during their king's minority, with a neighbouring nation, so much their superior in strength and riches. This reached the ears of Albany, who observing that the discontent was general, concluded a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the English west-marches ; and soon after returned to France : but lest the opposite party should gain strength in his absence, he sent into Scotland the earl of Angus, the queen dowager's husband.

Henry, the next year, sent the earl of Surrey with an army into Scotland, which, without opposition, ravaged the Merse and Teviot-dale, and burned the town of Jedburgh. At this time the Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them, nor any nobleman of vigour and authority qualified to assume

assume the government; whence Henry determined to drive them to extremities, in hopes of obliging them, from the sense of their present weakness, to renounce their alliance with France, and to embrace that of England. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between their young king and the lady Mary, heiress of England. The queen dowager, with her whole party, warmly recommended the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They alledged, that the interest of Scotland had been too long sacrificed to that of the French, who, whenever they were reduced to difficulties, called for their assistance, but were ready to abandon them, as soon as it was for their advantage to conclude a peace with England: that France was so distant, and so divided from them by the sea, that she could never send succours in time, sufficient to protect the Scots against the ravages of the neighbouring kingdom: that nature, by having placed the two British nations in the same island, had, in a manner, formed an alliance between them: it had given them the same language, manners, laws, and form of government; and thus prepared every thing for an intimate union. Hence, if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be produced by a well-established peace, the two kingdoms, secured by the sea, and by their domestic force, could set all foreign enemies at defiance.

On the other hand, the partizans of the French-alliance alledged, that the vicinity of England,

England, and its superior power, rendered it impossible for a sincere and lasting confederacy to be formed with that hostile nation : that disputes would frequently arise between neighbouring states ; and the more powerful would seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing it to subjection : that as the vicinity of England and France had kindled an almost perpetual war between those nations, if the Scots wished to maintain their independancy, they ought to preserve their league with the latter, which balanced the force of the former : but if they deserted that ancient alliance, their inveterate enemies the English would soon invade them with a superior force, and reduce them to subjection ; and that an insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only serve to prepare the way for a more certain slavery.

As the arguments used by the French party were seconded by the prejudices of the people, they prevailed ; and the regent at last appearing among them, was able to throw the balance on that side. By the authority of the states, he levied an army, in order to revenge the ravages committed by the English, in the beginning of the campaign, and marched towards the borders : but while they were passing the Tweed, at the bridge of Melross, such opposition was raised by the English party, that Albany thought proper to retreat, and marched downwards, with the bank of the Tweed on his right. Then fixing his camp opposite to Werk castle, sent over some troops to besiege that

that fortress, who made a breach, and even stormed some of the out-works ; but Albany hearing that an English army was approaching, and being discouraged by the season being far advanced, disbanded his army, and retired to Edinburgh ; from whence he soon after sailed to France, and never more returned to Scotland. The Scots were afterwards so disturbed by their domestic factions, that for several years they were in no condition to give any disturbance to England ; by which means Henry was left at leisure to prosecute his designs on France.

As Henry had, for a considerable time spent his father's treasures, and still maintained his usual expences, he had been obliged to proceed slowly in the war with France, merely from the want of money. He had, however, in the last year, 1522, caused a general survey to be made of the whole kingdom, with respect to the number of men, their ages, professions, stock and revenues ; and then demanded, under the privy-seal, loans of particular sums of the most wealthy. But this year he extended his authority still farther ; and by his edict, levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and two shillings upon the laity.

Soon after Henry summoned a parliament and a convocation ; neither of which he found disposed to complain of this arbitrary infringement of their privileges. Wolsey, who had undertaken to raise farther supplies for the king, began with the convocation, and demanded a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues to be raised in five years, or during that time, the annual paymen

payment of two shillings in the pound ; and notwithstanding he met with opposition, he reprimanded those who opposed him with such severity, that they at last complied. After this the cardinal, attended by several of the nobility and prelates, went to the house of commons, and laid before them, in a long speech, the necessities of the state ; the affronts received from the French ; the league in which Henry was engaged with the emperor and the pope ; with the danger of an invasion from Scotland ; and demanded a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds, divided into four yearly payments. But though the cardinal's demand was seconded by Sir Thomas More, the speaker, and other members attached to the court, the house could not be prevailed with to comply, and only granted half of the sum demanded. The king was so dissatisfied with this, that as he had not called a parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another ; and yet, under the pretence of necessity, levied in one year, upon every person worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted to be paid him in four years : an instance of the most shameful violation of the privileges of the people.

The aspiring hopes of Wolsey now received a new disappointment. Pope Adrian VI. died, and by the concurrence of the imperial party, Clement VII. of the family of Medicis, was elected in his room. It was impossible for Wolsey to avoid being convinced of the emperor's

insincerity ; and he had reason to conclude, that Charles would never second his pretensions to the papal throne. This injury he highly resented, and instantly began to prepare for an union between Henry and the French king. In the mean time, concealing his disgust, he congratulated the new pope on his promotion, and applied to him for the continuance of the legantine powers conferred upon him by the two former popes. Clement, sensible of the importance of acquiring his friendship, granted him these powers for life, and thus, in a manner, invested him with the whole papal authority in England. Wolsey, in some instances, made a good use of this extensive authority. He erected a college at Oxford, and another at Ipswich, the place of his birth ; and supplied the chairs of these colleges, by sending for the most learned men in Europe.

On the opening of the campaign in 1523, the confederacy against France appeared more formidable than ever. Adrian had, before his death, renewed the league with Henry and Charles. The Venetians had deserted the French alliance, and entered into engagements to secure Francis Sforza, the brother of Maximilian, in the possession of the Milanese. The dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, the Florentines, and all the powers of Italy, joined in the same design. France was threatened with a powerful invasion on the side of Guienne, by the emperor in person : the forces of the Netherlands, joined to those of England, hovered over Picardy ; and a numerous body of Germans

Germans was preparing to ravage Burgundy. But France was in less danger from its foreign enemies, than from a domestic conspiracy.

Charles, duke of Bourbon, constable of France, was possessed of the most distinguished merit, and was adorned with every accomplishment suitable to a person of his high rank; which, added to the graces of youth, had such an affect on Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis, that without considering the inequality of their years, she offered to marry him; and being repulsed, resolved to be revenged. She was malicious, vindictive, and deceitful; but had great abilities, which enabled her to acquire an absolute ascendant over her son. Francis, influenced by her instigations, put many affronts on the constable, which it was difficult for him to bear; and at last permitted Louisa to carry on a law-suit against him, by which he was deprived of his ample possessions, on the most frivolous pretences.

Bourbon was so exasperated, that he entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England. Francis, steadily bent on recovering the Milanese, had resolved to lead his army in person into Italy; and Bourbon, in order to have a pretence of staying behind, pretended sickness, intending, as soon as Francis had passed the Alps, to raise his numerous vassals, by whom he was greatly beloved, and to introduce a foreign army into the heart of the kingdom. His design was, however, discovered to Francis; but being too

dilatory in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape, and entering into the service of the emperor, employed all his great military talents to the prejudice of his native country.

As Henry desired that Francis should enter upon his expedition into Italy, he did not openly threaten to invade Picardy this year; and it was not till August that the duke of Suffolk sailed with the English forces to Calais, attended by the lords Montacute, Powis, Berkeley, Sandys, and many other noblemen and gentlemen. The English army, on being reinforced by some troops drawn from the garrison of Calais, consisted of about twelve thousand men; and these joining an equal number of Flemings, under the count de Buren, prepared to invade France. The frontier of Picardy being ill provided with troops, that province was only defended by the activity of the French officers, who, with great expedition, threw garrisons into every town that was threatened by the English and Flemings; who, after marching along the bank of the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreuil, and Dourlens, appeared before Bray, a place of small strength, which commanded a bridge over that river. They were here determined to pass, and, if possible, to take up their winter quarters in France; but Crequi, throwing himself into the town, appeared resolved to defend it. The allies attacked him with such vigour and success, that on his retreating over the bridge, they pursued him so closely, as not to allow him

him time to break it down ; but passing it with him, entirely defeated his army. They then proceeded to Montdidier, which they besieged, and took by capitulation. Then, meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, and threw Paris, which was at the distance of about eleven leagues, into great consternation ; till the duke of Vendome, at the head of some forces, hastened to its relief. The confederates, apprehensive of being surrounded, now thought proper to make their retreat ; and having abandoned Montdidier, the English and Flemings retired into their respective countries without effecting any thing.

France, with equal facility and good fortune, defended herself from the other invasions. The count of Furstenberg, with twelve thousand Lansquenets, broke into Burgundy, and the count of Guise, to whom that frontier was entrusted, had no other troops to oppose them, but about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry and some militia. The latter he threw into the garrison towns, and keeping the field with his cavalry, so harrassed the Germans, that they were glad to retire into Lorraine : but on their passing the Meuse, Guise attacked them, threw them into disorder, and cut off the greatest part of their rear.

Great preparations were made by the emperor on the side of Navarre ; which, though well guarded by nature, was exposed to danger from the powerful invasion with which it was threatened. Charles laid siege to Fontarabia ; and having drawn the French general

Lautrec thither, suddenly raised the siege, and invested Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of the stratagem, suddenly marched and entered Bayonne, which he defended with such vigour and bravery, that the emperor was obliged to raise the siege ; but suddenly turning back, sat down in the winter season, before Fontarabia, which, though well fortified, and strongly garrisoned, through the cowardice or misconduct of the governor, surrendered in a few days ; after which the emperor put his troops into winter quarters.

Francis, notwithstanding the numerous invasions that threatened his kingdom on every side, was so bent on prosecuting his expedition into Italy, that he had resolved to lead in person a powerful army to the conquest of Milan : but hearing of Bourbon's revolt and escape, he stopped at Lyons ; and thinking it prudent to remain in France, sent his army into Italy, under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The Milanese had been purposely left in a somewhat defenceless condition, in order to allure Francis to attack it, and by that means, facilitate the enterprizes of Bourbon ; and Bonnivet had no sooner passed the Tescio, than the army of the league, commanded by Prosper Colonna, were in the utmost confusion. Had Bonnivet immediately advanced to Milan, it is generally agreed, that this opulent city, on which the whole dutchy depends, would have been obliged to open its gates without resistance ; but his wasting his time in enterprizes of little moment, gave Colonna an opportunity

portunity of putting that city in a posture of defence. This obliged Bonnivet to make an attempt to reduce the place by blockade and famine; and for that purpose, he took possession of all the passages that led to it. Meanwhile the army of the league, so freightened and harrassed the French in their quarters, that they themselves seemed in greater danger of perishing by famine, than of reducing the city to that extremity. Indeed they suffered so much by sickness, fatigue, and want, that they were ready to raise the blockade, and only waited, in hopes of being joined by a large body of Swiss, levied for the service of Francis, and whose arrival was daily expected. But the Swiss no sooner came within sight of the French camp, than, from a sudden caprice and resentment, instead of joining the French, they sent to order a great body of their countrymen, who served under Bonnivet, to begin their march, and return home with them, which obliged Bonnivet to retreat into France as fast as possible.

The different states of Italy having thus expelled the French, resolved to prosecute the victory no farther. They had all entertained a jealousy of the emperor's ambition, which was encreased by his refusing the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and in whose defence he had engaged; whence it was concluded, that he himself intended to obtain that important dutchy, and afterwards to reduce Italy to subjection. This induced Clement to send

send orders to his nuncio at London, to mediate a reconciliation between England and France. But Wolsey, though disgusted with the emperor, resolved to have the glory of producing this great change, and therefore prevailed on the king, to reject the pope's mediation; and even a new treaty for the invasion of France was concluded between Charles and Henry. The former agreed to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, to enable him to conquer Dauphiny and Provence: Henry consented to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month, and either to continue the same monthly payments, or to enter Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to enjoy these provinces, with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry, as king of France. Charles was to have the dutchy of Burgundy, and Henry the rest of France. A numerous army of Imperialists now invaded Provence, under the command of Bourbon and the marquis of Pescara, who laying siege to Marseilles, expected, on account of its being weakly garrisoned, to carry it in a short time: but it was defended by the citizens with such courage and resolution, that the two generals, hearing of the French king's approach with a numerous army, raised the siege, and led their discouraged troops into Italy.

Francis had now the glory of having repelled every attempt of his enemies to invade his kingdom; and hearing that the king of England was disgusted with the emperor, and made

no preparations to attack Picardy, was again seized with the desire of conquering Milan ; and, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, advanced, in the latter end of the year 1524, with his army into Italy, and no sooner appeared in Piedmont, than he threw the Milanese into confusion. He laid siege to Pavia, a place of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the most gallant officers in the Spanish service ; but all his attempts to take that important city were fruitless. He made breaches in the walls, but by Leyva's vigilance, new intrenchments were immediately thrown up behind the breaches : he made an attempt to turn the course of the Tefin, which defended one side of the city ; but in one night, an inundation of the river destroyed all the mounds, which his soldiers had for a long time been raising. The French army became diminished by fatigue, and the inclemency of the season. In the mean while Pescara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, assembled forces from every quarter ; and Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and raised twelve thousand Landsquenets, and joining the Imperialists, the combined army, amounting to twenty thousand men, advanced to raise the siege of Pavia ; while the emperor was so destitute of money for the payment of this army, that they were chiefly kept to their standards, by the hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp ; and had Francis raised the siege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must have imme-

immediately disbanded ; and he would have obtained a victory without bloodshed or danger ; but having once said, that he would either take Pavia, or perish before it, he was determined to suffer the utmost extremities, rather than change his purpose.

The Imperial generals, after having for several days cannonaded the French camp, made a general assault, and entered the intrenchments ; at the same instant Leyva sallied from the town, and increased the confusion of the besiegers. The Swiss infantry deserted their posts, and the forces of Francis were routed. That king being surrounded by his enemies, fought with heroic bravery ; but after killing seven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, in which were a great number of nobility and brave officers, either fell by the sword, or were drowned in the river ; and the few who escaped alive were taken prisoners\*.

Charles, on receiving this news, behaved with the appearance of great moderation. He expressed a concern for Francis's ill fortune, and a sense of the calamities to which the greatest monarchs are liable. He forbad any public rejoicings at Madrid, and said, that every expression of triumph should be deferred till he obtained a victory over the infidels ; he dispatched orders to the garrisons on the frontiers, to commit no hostilities against the

\* This battle was fought on the twenty-fifth of April 1525.

French, and talked of instantly concluding a peace on reasonable terms. But this appearance of moderation was only hypocritical, and he instantly formed schemes of gratifying his ambition, by improving this great event to the utmost advantage.

The messenger who brought this news in passing through France, delivered also a letter from Francis to his mother, who resided at Lyons; and it contained no more than these words: *Madam, all is lost, except our honour.* The princess, whom he had left regent, was struck with the greatness of the calamity. The kingdom was without a sovereign; without an army; without generals; without money; on every side encompassed by implacable and victorious enemies. In her present distress, she had no other comfort, but the hopes she entertained of a peace with England, and assistance from thence.

Henry, startled at this important event, became instantly sensible both of his own danger, and that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of the emperor. Hence, instead of taking advantage of the distressed condition of France, he determined to lend her his assistance; and thus to obtain the glory of generously raising a fallen enemy. Charles and Henry had before been disgusted with each other, and a still greater disgust subsisted between Charles and Wolsey, who only waited for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments that prince had made him suffer. Charles's behaviour, immediately

dately after the victory of Pavia, afforded him an opportunity of reviving the king's jealousy and suspicions. So ill did the emperor support the appearance of the moderation which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his style; and instead of writing to Henry with his own hand, and subscribing himself *your affectionate son and cousin*, he dictated his letters to his secretary, and only subscribed himself *Charles*. The cardinal also observed, that the emperor's letters to him contained fewer caresses and professions of friendship than formerly: an imprudence arising from the intoxication of success, that was probably more dangerous than the other, to Charles's interest.

Though Henry was resolved to embrace new measures, he caused rejoicings to be every where made for the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis; he also publicly dismissed a French envoy, whom, notwithstanding the war, he had allowed to reside in London: but upon the regent's submissive applications to him, he resumed his correspondence with her, and assured her of his friendship and protection. In order to have a pretence for breaking with the emperor, he assumed the appearance of vigour; and dispatched Tonstall, bishop of London, to Madrid, to require Charles to enter Guienne immediately, in order to put him in possession of that province, and to demand the payment of large sums that prince had borrowed from him, in his last visit at London: for he knew that

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the emperor was far from being in a condition to fulfil either of these demands.

After Tonstall's arrival at Madrid, he informed his master, that Charles was displeased with Henry, for neither continuing his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invading Picardy the last year, according to agreement; and that the emperor, instead of expressing a desire to marry the princess Mary, when she should be of age, had listened to proposals for espousing his niece Isabella, princess of Portugal.

Henry now concluded an alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son's liberty on reasonable terms. In another treaty, the regent promised to pay Henry one million eight hundred thousand crowns, in half yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns, till the whole was discharged; the king was also to receive a yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns during his own life. A present of a hundred thousand crowns was likewise made to Wolsey, as arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the revenue arising from the bishopric of Tournay.

In the mean time Henry imagining, that this treaty might involve him in a war with the emperor, issued commissions to all the counties of England, for raising four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and three shillings and four-pence upon the laity, taking no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, under the slender pretence of a loan. But he soon perceived, that he had presumed too far on the passive submission of his subjects; on

which he had the prudence to stop short in the dangerous path into which he had entered. An insurrection was, however, in some places begun ; but the people not being headed by any considerable person, the duke of Suffolk and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, prevailed on the ring-leaders to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners ; and Henry finding it dangerous to punish persons engaged in so popular a cause, granted them a general pardon.

The emperor's dissembled moderation was of short continuance ; and every one was soon convinced, that instead of being satisfied with his vast dominions, they only served to prompt his ambition to acquire a still more extensive empire. He even demanded such terms of his prisoner, as would for ever have annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis soon after the battle of Pavia, and excited in that prince's breast the warmest indignation. He maintained, that rather than dismember his kingdom, he would live and die a prisoner ; and that were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never allow them to be complied with.

Francis being uneasy at his being so far distant from the emperor, with whom he was to treat, expressed his desire of having a personal interview with him, in hopes of his being possessed of the same frankness of disposition, by which he himself was distinguished ; and therefore

fore desired to be removed to Madrid. This was complied with ; but soon finding that he could expect little favour from the emperor, his reflections on his present melancholy situation, added to his want of exercise, threw him into a languishing illness. Charles was now alarmed, lest the death of his captive should deprive him of all the advantages he proposed to extort from him ; and therefore paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid. On his approaching the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch said, " You come, Sir, to visit " your prisoner." " No, answered Charles, " I come to visit my brother and my friend, " who shall soon be restored to liberty." He then uttered many other soothing speeches, which had so good an effect, that Francis, from that time, began to recover ; and employed himself from thenceforward in concerting the terms of the treaty with the emperor's ministers.

Charles was at length induced to abate somewhat of his rigour, by the dread of a general combination being formed against him ; and on the 14th of January 1526, the treaty was signed at Madrid ; by which he was to restore Francis's liberty, and to receive his two eldest sons as hostages for the cession of Burgundy. If any difficulty afterwards arose on the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states, either of France or of that province, Francis consented to return to his prison in six weeks time, and to remain there till the treaty was fully executed. In this famous

convention were many other articles, all of them extremely severe against the captive monarch, by which Charles evidently discovered his intention of subduing Italy.

Francis, on his entering his own dominions, delivered into the hands of the Spaniards, who attended him, his two eldest sons as hostages. Then mounting a Turkish horse, immediately put him to the gallop, and waving his hand, cried several times with a loud voice, “ I am yet a king.” Francis soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by his mother, and his whole court; and immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging, that he owed his liberty to his good offices alone; and protested, that in all his transactions with the emperor, he would be governed by his advice. On the Spanish envoy requiring him, now he had fully recovered his liberty, to ratify the treaty of Madrid, he declined it, under the colour of its being previously necessary to assemble the states of France and Burgundy, to obtain their consent. The states of Burgundy being soon assembled, declared against the alienation of their province; and expressed their resolution to oppose the execution of an article so unjust and ruinous, by force of arms. The Imperial minister then, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, demanded, that the French king should return to his prison; but instead of complying, he made public, a treaty which he had secretly concluded at Cognac, against the emperor’s ambitious schemes and usurpations.

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The Italian states, who were deeply interested in these events, were filled with anxious suspense, with respect to the resolutions Francis would take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, supposing that he would never execute a treaty so prejudicial to his interest, offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements; on which that prince immediately entered into a confederacy, in which it was stipulated by the French king, the pope, the duke of Milan, the Florentines, the Venetians, and the Swiss, among other articles, to oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes, who were hostages, for a reasonable sum of money, and to restore Milan to Sforza. To this treaty, which was called the Holy League, Henry was invited to accede, and promised, that if Naples should be conquered from Charles, he should enjoy a principality in that kingdom, of the annual revenue of thirty thousand ducats; and that, in consideration of the services cardinal Wolsey had performed for Christendom, he should have a revenue of ten thousand ducats.

In the mean time the duke of Bourbon had acquired the possession of the whole Milanese; and having raised a considerable army in Germany, was become formidable to all the Italian princes. He was extremely beloved by his troops, which alone prevented their mutinying for want of pay. He therefore led them to Rome, and animated them, by promises of allowing them the plunder of that opulent city. Though he himself was killed while planting

a scaling-ladder against the walls, his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged, mounted to the assault, and entering the city sword in hand, were guilty of the most dreadful brutalities. The massacre and pillage continued for several days unrestrained. On this occasion, virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon the very altars to which they had fled for protection ; and aged prelates, after suffering every indignity, and even being put to the torture, were thrown into dungeons, and threatened with the most cruel deaths, to force them to discover their concealed treasures, or to purchase their liberty by paying exorbitant ransoms. Even the pope himself, who imagining, that he should be protected by his sacred character, had neglected to fly from Rome, was taken prisoner, and treated with insolent mockery by the German soldiers.

The emperor was no sooner informed of this great event, than he concealed his joy for the success of his arms, under the appearance of the deepest sorrow. He himself, and his whole court, instantly appeared in mourning ; a stop was put to the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip ; and during several months, he caused prayers to be put up in all the churches for the pope's liberty ; though nobody could well be ignorant, that he himself could have procured it in a moment, by a letter under his hand.

Henry and Francis were more sincerely concerned for the pope's misfortune. A few days before

before Rome was sacked, they had concluded a treaty at Westminster, in which it was agreed, to send ambassadors to the emperor, with a request, that he would accept of two millions of crowns for the French princes' ransom, and repay the money he had borrowed of Henry; and the ambassadors were ordered, in case of refusal, to take heralds with them, who were to denounce war against him. It was agreed to carry on this war in the Netherlands; but no sooner did these kings receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprize, than they resolved to carry their arms into Italy; and on hearing of the pope's captivity, they determined to carry on the war with vigour, in order to restore him to liberty. Upon this occasion, Wolsey crossed the sea, to have an interview with Francis, and to display all the splendor and magnificence of which he was so fond. This prelate was attended by a body of a thousand horse. Francis himself made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him; and the more to honour his reception, he advanced some miles from the city, and gave him power, wherever he came, to set all prisoners at liberty. It was stipulated at Amiens, that the princess Mary should be espoused to the duke of Orleans; and as Charles seemed to be about assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but during the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their dominions, by their own authority. Wolsey now endeavoured to get his legantine

legantine authority extended over France, and even over Germany, but without success.

Some time after, a new treaty was concluded at London, in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claim to the crown of France; and in return, Francis consented to pay for himself and his successors, fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors for ever. To give the greater solemnity to this treaty, the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms were to give their assent; and the marshal de Montmorency, attended by many persons of distinction, and a pompous equipage, being sent to ratify the treaty, was received at London with all the pomp suitable to the solemnity of the occasion.

Though the union between England and France added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, it did not induce that monarch to submit entirely to the conditions they proposed. Indeed he desisted from his demand of obtaining Burgundy, as the ransom of the French princes; but required, previously to their liberty, that the king of France should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses he possessed in Italy. The English and French heralds, therefore, declared war against him. Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French, he charged his master with breach of faith; reminded him of the private conversation which, before their separation, had passed between them at Madrid; and offered to prove, by single combat, that Francis had acted dishonourably.

ably. The French king returned the challenge, by giving Charles the lie, and likewise offered to maintain his cause by single combat: but though several messages passed between them, the intended duel never took place. These famous challenges had, however, no immediate consequence, with respect to the monarchs themselves, yet they had a considerable effect on the manners of the age. “ The practices of challenges and duels, says Mr. Hume, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on very solemn occasions, and which was even countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the most trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating their right in single combat. These absurd maxims shed much of the best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries; and notwithstanding the severity of law, and authority of reason, such is the prevailing force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.”

We shall now enter upon an affair that was attended with the most extraordinary consequences, with respect to England. Though the late king had betrothed his son, when he was only twelve years old, to Catharine of Arragon, he ordered him, as soon as he came of age, to enter a protest against the marriage; and charged him, on his death bed, not to conclude

conclude his marriage with his brother's widow. After the king's accession, some members of the privy counsel, and particularly Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, openly declared against the king's completing the marriage; and there afterwards happened incidents sufficient to rouze his attention. The emperor Charles's marriage with the princess Mary, had been opposed by the states of Castile, who had insisted on the illegitimate birth of the young princess; and afterwards, when negotiations were opened with France to espouse her to Francis, or to the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, revived the same objection. On the other hand, the queen was six years older than the king, and the decay of her beauty, and some particular infirmities, notwithstanding her blameless character, rendered her disagreeable to him. She had, indeed, borne him several children, but they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and Henry had a strong desire to have male issue. It was supposed, that it was only with a view to that end, he had some years, before this period, paid his addresses to Catharine, the daughter of Sir John Blount; and on her bearing him a son, he expressed the highest satisfaction, and instantly created him duke of Richmond. The people apprehended, that if the lawfulness of Henry's marriage should, after his death, be called in question, the doubts of Mary's legitimacy, added to the weakness of her sex, would induce the king of Scotland, the next heir, to advance





advance his pretensions, and throw the kingdom into confusion.

Henry now asserting, that he had great scruples upon this occasion, consulted the bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, and found him possessed of the same doubts. The king himself, who was esteemed a great casuist, had recourse to the writings of Thomas of Aquinas, whose authority was great in the church; and found that he had treated of that very case, and had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages. The archbishop of Canterbury was then desired to consult his brethren; when all the prelates of England, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hands and seals, that they thought the king's marriage unlawful. Wolsey also strengthened the king's scruples, in order to promote a total breach with the emperor, Catharine's nephew; and with a desire of forming a more close connexion between Henry and Francis, by marrying him to the king of France's sister, the dutchess of Alençon.

Henry was also prompted by more forcible motives. Anne Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, had gained his affections. While Anne was young, she had been taken to Paris by the king's sister, when that princess went

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to espouse Lewis XII. of France ; and upon the decease of that prince, and the return of his dowager to England, this young lady, whose accomplishments were always much admired, was retained in the service of Claude, queen of France, the wife of Francis ; and after her death, lived with the dutchess of Alençon, a lady of singular merit. The exact time when Anne returned to England is not entirely known ; but it is said to have been after Henry had entertained doubts, with respect to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catharine. The king's scruples had induced him to break off all conjugal commerce with the queen ; but as there passed between them an intercourse of civility and friendship, he had an opportunity, in the frequent visits he paid her, to observe the youth and beauty of Anne Boleyn. Finding that the accomplishments of her mind were not inferior to her exterior graces, he entertained the design of raising her to the throne : a resolution in which he was confirmed, by his finding that her virtue and modesty prevented his being able to gratify his passion on any other terms. He therefore resolving to obtain a divorce from Catharine, sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose.

It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that if any indulgence was granted by the pope upon false suggestions, the bull might afterwards be annulled ; and Julius's bull, on being examined, afforded sufficient matter of this kind, it being said in the preamble, that it had been granted upon Henry's solicitation, though he was

was then under twelve years of age, and that the marriage was requisite, in order to preserve a peace between France and Spain, though there was then no appearance of a quarrel between them. Besides, the pope had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the king of England. He was at that time a prisoner in the emperor's hands; and the only hopes he had of recovering his liberty, on any reasonable terms, were founded on the league formed by Henry with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose Charles's ambition. Therefore, when the English secretary solicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer; and a dispensation was promised to be granted to his master. Soon after, Lautrec marching with a French army into Italy, the Imperialists were obliged to restore Clement to his liberty, on which he retired to Orvietto, where the secretary, with Sir Gregory Caffali, the king's resident at Rome, renewed their applications. The pope made warm professions of his friendship and gratitude to the king, but was less ready to grant his request than they expected. Charles, who had heard of Henry's application to Rome, had made Clement promise to take no steps in that affair, before he had communicated them to the Imperial ministers; and the pope being at the same time embarrassed by this promise, and over-awed by the emperor's forces in Italy, appeared willing to postpone his compliance with Henry's request. He, however, at last gave a commission

to Wolsey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to search into the validity of Henry's marriage, and of Julius's dispensation : he likewise granted a provisional dispensation for Henry's marriage with any other person ; and promised to issue a decretal bull, annulling the marriage with Catharine ; but represented the danger that would attend him, if these concessions should come to Charles's knowledge ; and conjured them not to make any farther use of these papers till his liberty and independence were secured ; yet advised them, as soon as it was proper, to prevent all opposition, by declaring the marriage with Catharine invalid, and by Henry's immediately espousing some other person. He observing, that it would be less difficult for him to confirm these proceedings after they were passed, than by his consent and authority, previously to render them valid.

Henry, on receiving, in 1528, the commission and dispensation, with the pope's advice, laid them before his ministers, and asked their opinion. They immediately observed the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them ; for should the pope disavow the advice he had so clandestinely given, and refuse to ratify what was done, the king's second marriage would be invalidated, and the children it produced be declared illegitimate. Though Clement had naturally an excellent judgment, his captivity and other misfortunes had so affected his imagination, that he never after-

afterwards dared to exert himself in any public measures with vigour. The Imperial forces were still powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which would probably be exposed to the same calamities it had already suffered.

The emperor, sensible of Clement's timid disposition, perpetually terrified him with his menaces ; and at the same time, allured him by hopes that were no less prevalent. At the time when Rome was sacked by the emperor's forces, and Clement reduced to captivity, the Florentines taking advantage of his distresses, had revolted against the family of Medicis, abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to secure their liberty, they had entered into an alliance with England, France, and Venice, against the emperor ; on which Clement found, that the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family, which he most passionately desired, and was sensible, that the emperor alone was able to do it. Whence, notwithstanding his professions of fidelity to his allies, the least glimpse of hope made him ready to embrace every proposal for a cordial reconciliation with Charles.

Clement's views and interests being well known in England, and Charles's opposition to Henry's divorce, foreseen, both on account of the honour and interest of Catharine, his aunt, and from the motive of distressing an enemy ; the safest measure seemed to be engaging the pope so far, that he could not afterwards

wards recede. For this purpose Edward Fox, the king's almoner, and Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, were sent to Rome, to solicit a commission from the pope of such a nature, as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners. But this the pope refused: he was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor, as most essential to his own security, and the greatness of his family. He however granted a new commission to Wolsey and cardinal Campeggio, but could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him: and though the pope gave Gardiner a letter, in which he promised not to recall the present commission, this promise was couched in such ambiguous terms, as still left him the power of departing from it whenever he pleased.

The ambiguous conduct of the pope and Campeggio, determined the king to wait the event with patience. In the mean while, fortune seemed to promise him a more certain way of obtaining satisfaction. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness, and the intrigues among the cardinals for electing his successor, already began to take place. Wolsey now, supported by the united interests of England and France, entertained hopes of reaching the summit of his ambition. But the pope, after several relapses, recovered his health, and returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics; and while he flattered Henry, continued his secret negotiations with Charles.

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As the emperor knew the eagerness with which Henry longed to have this affair concluded, he resolved, that his success should depend on his application to him, and his deserting his alliance with Francis. He, therefore, willingly listened to his aunt Catharine, and assuring her of his utmost protection, persuaded her never to yield to the malice of her enemies. The queen, who was naturally possessed of great firmness and resolution, had the strongest motives to persevere in protesting against the injustice with which she thought herself treated. She was filled with indignation at her marriage with Henry being termed incest; her daughter being consequently declared illegitimate, filled her with the deepest concern: hence she incessantly solicited the assistance of her nephew, earnestly appealing to Rome, where justice she thought could be only expected.

Meantime the two legates opening their court at London, on the thirty-first of May 1529, cited both the king and queen to appear before them. They both obeyed the citation; and the king, when called, answered to his name. But the queen, instead of answering to her's, rose from her seat, threw herself at the king's feet, and made a very pathetic speech, in which she told him, that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, and exposed to all the injustice of her enemies; that she had left her native country with no other resource, than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected to find

in them a safe-guard against every misfortune: that she had been for twenty years his wife, and would appeal to himself, whether her affectionate submission to his will, had not merited better treatment than to be thus, after so long a time, ignominiously thrown from him: that she was conscious, and he himself knew, her virgin honour was unstained when he took her to his bed, and that her connections with his brother, had extended no farther than the ceremony of marriage: that their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had doubtless acted by the best advice, when they agreed to that marriage, which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural; and that acquiescing in their judgment, she would not submit her cause to be tried by a court, whose dependence on her enemies would not allow her the least hopes of obtaining from them an impartial and equitable decision. She then arose, and making a low reverence to the king, left the court, and never appeared before it again.

She was no sooner gone, than Henry did her the justice to acknowledge, that she had always been an affectionate and dutiful wife, and that her whole behaviour had been agreeable to the strictest rules of probity and honour; but insisted on his scruples, with respect to the lawfulness of their marriage; and after having explained the foundation, origin, and progress of the doubts by which he had been long agitated, he acquitted the cardinal from having

ing any hand in encouraging his scruples, and desired a sentence agreeable to the justice of his cause.

The legates, notwithstanding the queen had appealed to the court of Rome, again cited her to appear before them; and having declared her contumacious, proceeded to examine the cause. They began with the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catharine, among which were mentioned many of his expressions to that very purpose. Henry himself, after his brother's death, was for some time not allowed to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: the Spanish ambassador, in order to secure the possession of Catharine's jointure, had sent over to Spain proofs of the consummation of her marriage; and in the very treaty for Henry's nuptials, the consummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur is, on both sides, acknowledged. These and other particulars were laid before the court, accompanied with many reasons concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and power of granting a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard what was said with great impatience, and the trial was spun out till the 23d of July: but when the king daily expected a sentence in his favour, Campeggio, to his great surprize, suddenly prorogued the court to the first of October.

While the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had earnestly solicited Clement to revoke the cause, by employing

ploying every topic of hope or terror that could influence the pontiff. On the other hand, the English and French ambassadors had been no less earnest in their applications for the legates to be allowed to finish the trial: but though they also made use of promises and menaces, the motives they set before the pope were less urgent and immediate than those held up to him by the emperor. The dread of losing England made a small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of his anxiety for his own personal safety, and his ardent desire to restore the family of Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As soon, therefore, as he had settled his affairs with the emperor, he suspended the commission of the legates, and adjourned the cause to be decided by himself at Rome, having before sent private orders to Campeggio, to burn the decretal bull with which he had entrusted him. Wolsey, who had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and earnestness, in endeavouring to procure the divorce, had long foreseen this measure, as a sure fore-runner of his own ruin. He had sufficient experience of Henry's impatient temper, which would bear no contradiction, and of his being accustomed, without examination, to make his ministers answerable for the success of those transactions with which they were entrusted. Anne Boleyn was also prepossessed against him, as she imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and even the high opinion which Henry entertained of his capacity, tended to hasten his downfall, as he imputed

imputed the ill success of that cardinal's undertaking not to ill fortune, or to any mistake, but to the malignity of his intentions: the king, however, seems to have remained some time in suspense, and still received him with some appearance of confidence and esteem.

Henry at length resolving to ruin the cardinal, sent the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, on the 18th of October, 1529, to order him to deliver up the great seal; and on his scrupling to do it, without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter; upon which he surrendered it, and it was given to Sir Thomas More, a person distinguished by his capacity, virtue, and integrity.

Wolsey was now ordered to leave York Place, a palace he had erected in London; and though it really belonged to the see of York, Henry seized it, and it afterwards became the residence of the kings of England, under the name of White-hall. His furniture and plate, which, in riches and splendor, would have been suitable to the greatest prince, were also seized. The apartments were lined with cloth of gold or silver, and he had a cup-board of plate, of massy gold. The rest of his furniture was in proportion.

Wolsey was now ordered to retire to Asher, a country-seat in his possession, near Hampton-court. On this fatal reverse of his fortune, those who had paid him the most abject submission, during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him. He himself was greatly dejected; and the same

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turn of mind which rendered him vainly elated with his grandeur, made him feel, with redoubled anguish, the stroke of adversity ; and the smallest appearance of favour from the king, threw him into unbecoming transports of joy. Henry, for some time, granted him his protection, and allowed him to possess the sees of York and Winchester. He even, as a testimony of his affection, sent him a gracious message, accompanied with a ring. Wolsey, who was on horseback when he was met by the messenger, immediately alighted, and falling on his knees in the mire, received these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him in that humble attitude.

His enemies now incessantly gave the king accounts of his offences ; and Anne Boleyn, with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, endeavoured to prevent his ever being reinstated in his former authority. He therefore dismissed his numerous retinue ; and being a kind and generous master, the separation was accompanied on both sides with a plentiful effusion of tears. The king's heart seemed to be soon hardened against his old favourite, whom he ordered to be indicted in the star-chamber, where a sentence was passed against him. Not satisfied with this, he abandoned him to the severity of the parliament ; and the house of lords voted a long charge against him, consisting of fifty-four articles, accompanied with an application to the king for his punishment, and removal from all authority. Little opposition was made in the upper house to this charge,

charge, and no evidence of any part of it so much as called for. The articles being sent to the house of commons, Thomas Cromwell, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, whom he had raised from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such courage, generosity, and spirit, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of the great favour into which he was afterwards received by Henry.

The cardinal's enemies finding that these charges were so trivial as to afford no just ground of accusation, indicted him for having, contrary to a statute of Richard II. procured bulls from Rome; and in particular, one investing him with the legantine power, which he had exercised with a very extensive authority. Wolsey confessed himself guilty, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. This statute had fallen into disuse, and nothing could be more severe than imputing to him as a crime, what he had openly practised during the course of so many years, with the consent and approbation of the king, and the acquiescence of the parliament and kingdom. However, sentence was pronounced against him, that his lands and goods were forfeited, and that his person might be committed to custody. The prosecution was carried no farther; for the king afterwards granted him a pardon for all offences, restored to him part of his plate and furniture; and, from time to time, seemed to pity him.

The king was so interested in the domestic transactions of England, that he regarded foreign

reign affairs only in subordination to them. Though he had declared war against the emperor, the mutual advantages reaped by the trade between England and the Netherlands, had induced him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces ; and, except by contributing money to the wars of Italy, he had exercised no act of hostility against any of the emperor's dominions. In the summer of 1529, a general peace was established in Europe. Charles, instead of obtaining Burgundy, accepted of two millions of crowns for the ransom of the two princes of France, whom he retained as hostages. On this occasion, Henry was so generous to Francis, his friend and ally, that he acquitted him of a debt of near six hundred thousand crowns. The French king's Italian confederates had, however, no reason to be satisfied by this peace, which was concluded at Cambray ; for they were almost entirely abandoned to the will of the emperor. Florence, after a brave resistance, was subdued, and again put under the dominion of the house of Medicis ; but the Venetians were only obliged to relinquish some acquisitions they had made on the coast of Naples. Francis Sforza also obtained the investiture of Milan. The emperor now passed into Italy, and received, at Bologna, the imperial crown from the hands of the pope.

Though Charles seemed to be attended with prosperity on every side, and the conquest of Mexico and Peru began to prevent that scarcity of money under which he hitherto laboured, he was threatened with difficulties ; and his desire

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of removing them was the principal cause of his granting the powers in Italy such moderate conditions. Sultan Solyman, the greatest prince that ever filled the Ottoman throne, had nearly subdued Hungary, and laid siege to Vienna; and notwithstanding his being repulsed, still threatened the house of Austria's hereditary dominions with conquest and subjection. On the other hand, the Lutheran princes of the empire finding that they were denied liberty of conscience, had entered into a league at Smalcalde for their own defence; and from their protesting against what had passed in the imperial diet, received the name of Protestants. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and under the pretence of supporting the Popish religion, had laid a scheme for aggrandizing his own family, by becoming master of all Germany.

Henry's friendship was yet wanting to secure Charles's success in his ambitious enterprizes; and the king was fully sensible, that the emperor's concurrence would at once remove every difficulty which lay in the way of his divorce, the object of his fondest wishes. But his haughty spirit could not submit to a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and having been constantly accustomed to be courted and solicited by the greatest powers, he could ill brook the dependance to which he seemed to be reduced by this unhappy affair. Amidst the anxieties which continually agitated his mind, he was frequently tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and though

he had been educated in a superstitious reverence for the papal authority, it is probable that his experience of Clement's duplicity and selfish politics, had served to open his eyes. His own authority was firmly established at home: his people, disgusted with clerical usurpations, were disposed to reduce the privileges of the ecclesiastical order: they had cordially taken his part, in his prosecution of the divorce, and highly resented the ungrateful treatment, which, after so many services, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not avoid using all her endeavours to make him proceed to extremities with the pope; both as it opened the way to her attaining at once the royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the duchess of Alençon had already disposed her to believe the doctrines of the reformation. Henry had, however, strong motives for desiring to be upon good terms with the sovereign pontiff: he dreaded the danger of great innovations; was averse to all connexions with the Lutherans; and having, as he imagined, exerted himself with such applause in defence of the Romish church, was ashamed to retract his former opinions.

While he was thus agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed, that promised a solution of all his difficulties. One evening, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, who was remarkable for his learning, candour, and piety, fell accidentally into company with Gardiner, secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and the affair of the divorce becoming the subject

ject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet the king's conscience, or to extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe; when if they agreed to approve of Henry's marriage with Catharine, his scruples would be removed; and if they condemned it, it would be difficult for the pope to resist the solicitations of so potent a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom. On Henry's being informed of this proposal, he expressed great satisfaction, and swearing that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear, sent for that divine, and entering into conversation with him, entertained a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; he therefore desired him to write in defence of the divorce, and in conformity to the proposed scheme, instantly employed his agents in collecting the opinions of all the universities in Europe.

It was soon found that several universities, without hesitation, declared in the king's favour; not only those of France, at Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Angiers, and Tolouse, which might be supposed to be influenced by their prince, who was Henry's ally; but those of Italy, at Padua, Ferrara, Venice, and even at Bologna itself, though under Clement's immediate jurisdiction. None made any difficulty but the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who being alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, dreaded a defection from the holy see. However, their opinion, agreeable to that of the other universities of Europe, was

at last obtained. The convocations both of Canterbury and York, also declared the king's marriage invalid, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense. Henry, to give weight to all these authorities, engaged the nobility to write to the pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and to threaten him, in case he denied him justice, with the most dangerous consequences. Yet Clement, being still under the emperor's influence, continued to summon the king to appear either in person or by proxy, before his tribunal at Rome ; and Henry knowing that he had no reason to expect a fair trial, refused to submit ; representing the citation as a high insult, and a violation of his royal prerogatives. Anne Boleyn's father, who was created earl of Wiltshire, was sent to the pope, with the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy ; and as the first instance of disrespect shewn by England, refused to kiss Clement's foot, which he condescended to hold out to him for that purpose.

The extremities to which the king was driven, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, being naturally disagreeable to Wolsey, Henry's foreseeing his opposition, was probably the reason of his renewing the prosecution against him. After the cardinal had resided some time at Asher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace he had received from Henry, in return for Hampton-court : but the courtiers disliking his being so near the king, procured an order for his removing

removing to his see of York. Wolsey, knowing it was in vain to resist, took up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he became extremely popular by his affability and hospitality; but he was not permitted to remain long unmolested in his retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, where he was to take his trial. The cardinal, from the agitation of his mind, and the fatigues of his journey, was now seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery, and with some difficulty reached Leicester-abey. The abbot and monks advanced with much reverence and respect to receive him; but he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them, and immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose. A short time before he expired, he thus addressed himself to Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, in whose custody he then was. "I pray you  
 " have me heartily recommended to his royal  
 " majesty, and beseech him, on my behalf,  
 " to call to his remembrance all matters that  
 " have passed between us from the beginning,  
 " especially with regard to his busness with  
 " the queen; and then will he know, in his  
 " conscience, whether I have offended him.

" He is a prince of a most royal carri-  
 " age, and hath a princely heart; and rather  
 " than he will miss or want any part of his  
 " will, he will endanger the one half of his  
 " kingdom.

“ I do assure you, that I have often kneel-  
“ ed before him, sometimes three hours toge-  
“ ther, to persuade him from his will and ap-  
“ petite, but could not prevail. Had I but  
“ served God as diligently as I have served the  
“ king, he would not have given me over in  
“ my grey hairs. But this is the just reward  
“ that I must receive for my indulgent pains  
“ and study, not regarding my service to God,  
“ but only to my prince. Therefore let me  
“ advise you, if you be one of the privy coun-  
“ sel, as by your wisdom you are fit, take  
“ care what you put into the king’s head ; for  
“ you can never put it out again.”

Thus died cardinal Wolsey in the year 1530. Much of the blame that has been thrown upon the cardinal, may have been occasioned by the king’s obstinacy, and the violence of his temper ; and as the remaining part of Henry’s reign was more criminal than that in which his councils were directed by Wolsey, there may be reason to suspect the partiality of those historians, who have endeavoured to throw such reproaches on the memory of this minister.

The next year, a new session of parliament and a convocation were held ; and as an almost obsolete statute had been employed to ruin Wolsey, the same law was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended, that all who submitted to the legantine court, had violated the statute of provisions ; and accordingly the attorney-general brought an indictment against them. The convocation was sensible, that it would be to no purpose to oppose reason and equity

equity to the arbitrary will of the king, or to plead, that their not submitting to Wolsey's commission, which was procured by Henry's consent, and supported by his authority, would have been attended with their inevitable ruin. They therefore threw themselves on his mercy, and agreed to pay him a hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds for their pardon; they were likewise obliged to confess, that the king was the protector, and the *supreme head of the church and clergy of England*; though some had the address to insert a clause which invalidated that declaration, by adding, *so far as is permitted by the law of Christ*.

The commons were now apprehensive of being brought into trouble for their submission to the legantine court, and of a supply being extorted from them, in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned Henry to grant a remission to his lay subjects: but he told them, that if he was ever pleased to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodness, and not from their application, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. However, some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this favour, he issued a pardon.

The next session an act was passed against levying the annates, or first-fruits, which was a year's rent of all the bishoprics that fell vacant, imposed by the court of Rome, for granting bulls to the new prelates. Since the second year of Henry VII. no less than a hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been sent to

to Rome, on account of this claim, which the parliament therefore reduced to five per cent. on all episcopal benefices ; and the better to keep the pope in awe, the power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act, was entrusted to the king.

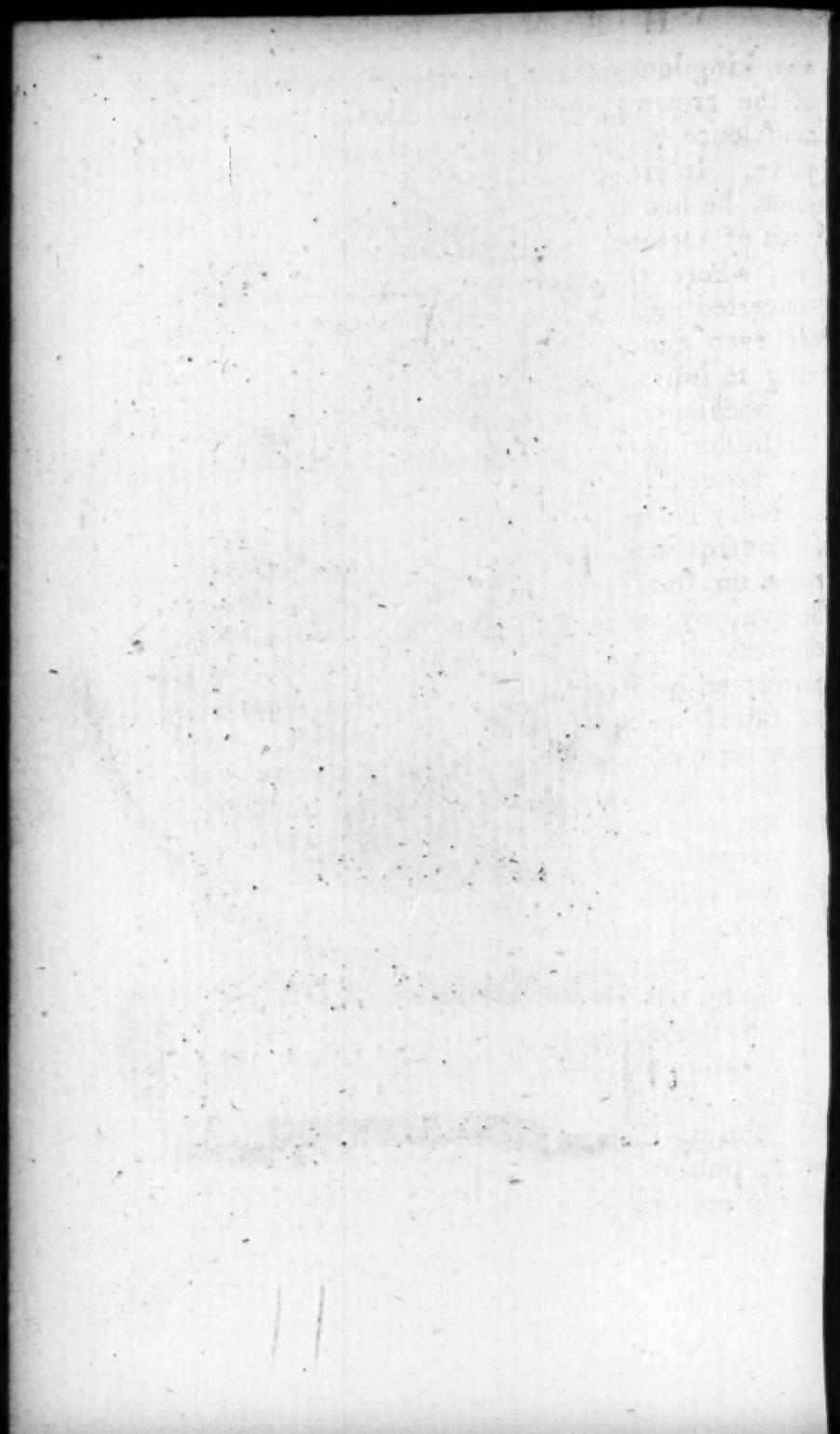
Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, observing, that all the measures of the king and parliament, tended to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion very different from his principles, desired leave to resign the great seal : but the king, who had entertained a very high and just opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty, and soon after delivered the great seal to Sir Thomas Audley.

In the mean time the court of Rome was not without solicitude. While Clement was pushed by the Imperial cardinals to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate counsellors represented, that it was a shame that a great monarch, who had distinguished himself both by his pen and his sword in the pope's cause, should be denied a favour which he demanded on such just grounds : but notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome ; the king was cited to appear, and several confistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry, instead of sending a proxy to plead his cause before that court, only dispatched Sir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, with his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority ; alledging, that appeals from his

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*S<sup>r</sup> THOMAS MORE*



own kingdom were subversive of the authority of the crown; and as the question regarded conscience alone, no proxy could supply his place. In order to support himself in his measures, he had an interview with Francis on the 11th of October 1532, at Boulogne and Calais, where they renewed their alliance, and concerted measures for their mutual defence. He even endeavoured to persuade the French king to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience from the bishop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs, without having recourse to that see.

Henry being now fully determined to stand all consequences, privately celebrated his marriage on the 14th of November, with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. The ceremony was performed by Rowland Lee, who was soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry; and there were present at the ceremony the duke of Norfolk, the new queen's uncle, her father, mother, and brother, with Dr. Cranmer.

In a parliament assembled the next year, an act was passed against all appeals to Rome, in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts; they being esteemed dishonourable to the kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction, and vexations, from their being attended with expence, and the delay of justice. Henry now finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publickly owned his marriage, and in order to remove all doubts, prepared measures

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for declaring, by a formal sentence, the invalidity of his former marriage with Catharine. That princess had, for some time, fixed her abode at Ampthill, near Dunstable, and there Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury, opened his court for examining the validity of her marriage. Catharine being declared contumacious for not appearing to her citation, the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were again produced; the opinions of the universities were read, as well as the judgment which, two years before, had been pronounced by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; after which Cranmer proceeding to a sentence, annulled the king's marriage with Catharine, as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was soon after crowned with great pomp and ceremony.

On the seventh of September, the new queen was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, on whom the king conferred the title of princess of Wales. During his former marriage, he had bestowed that title on his daughter Mary, and now gave the same mark of distinction, to exclude the elder princess from all hopes of the succession. Henry's regard for the new queen seemed, after his marriage, to be increased, rather than diminished; and every one expected to see the entire ascendant of one who, by a proper mixture of severity and indulgence, had long managed

naged so intractable a spirit as that of Henry. A message was sent to the unfortunate divorced queen, to inform her, that she was from thenceforward to be treated only as the princess dowager of Wales; and every means was employed to prevail on her to acquiesce in that determination. But she resolutely continued to maintain the validity of her marriage, and would admit no person to her presence, who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial.

When the news of these transactions was brought to Rome, all the cardinals of the Imperial party, urged the pope to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement only declared the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, and that of Henry's second marriage, threatening him with excommunication, if he did not, before the first of November ensuing, replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood: for an event had happened, which prevented his carrying matters against Henry to extremity. The pope had claims upon the dutchy of Ferrara, for the sovereignty of Modena and Reggio; and having submitted those claims to the emperor's arbitration, he had the mortification to find a sentence pronounced against him.

Exasperated at this disappointment, he listened to proposals of friendship from Francis; and that prince making overtures of marrying his second son, the duke of Orleans, to Catharine of Medicis, the pope's niece, Clement gladly embraced an alliance so honourable

able to his family; and an interview being appointed between the pope and Francis at Marseilles, the French king made use of his good offices, in endeavouring to produce an accommodation between his new ally and Henry, and induced the pope to promise, that if the king of England would submit his cause to the holy see, he would appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and immediately after, would pronounce the sentence of divorce required.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.